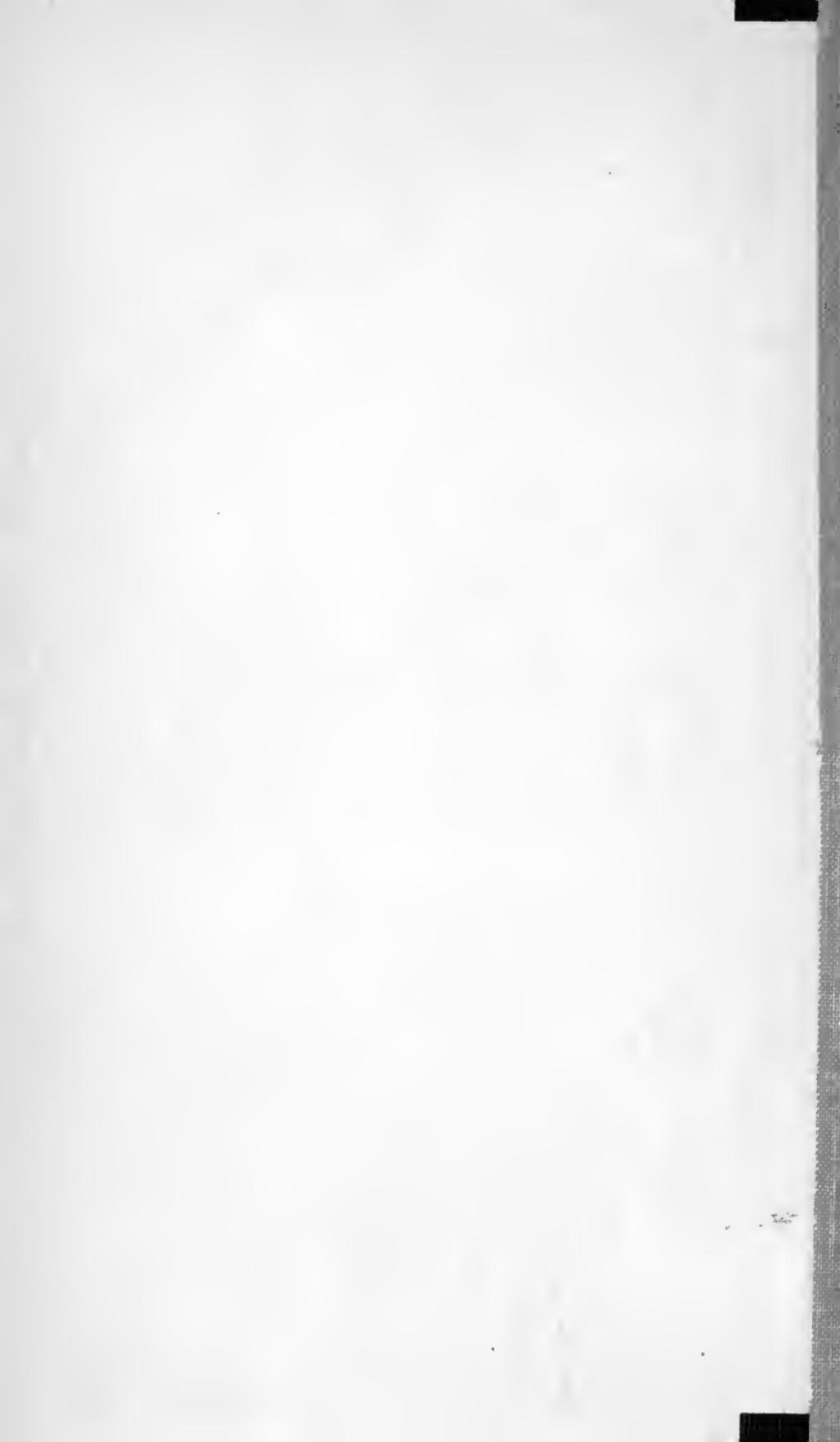


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ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL
HISTORY
OF
NEW ENGLAND

1620—1789

BY
WILLIAM B. WEEDEN

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.



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PREFACE.

IF we had all the material of history, it would compel a larger comprehension from our active modern intelligence, and the story would soon work itself out in simple unity. The lesser parts of history necessarily became, or they appeared to become, the greater parts, as civilisation has been going through its periods of growth. The art of government, the modes of worship, inevitably appeared, for the moment, greater than the people who were governed, or were trying to worship dimly apprehended deities. Man himself, in his own nature, must always be the object and the cause of the deeper historical meetings, as well as of the course of outward events, which represent the surface and superficial form of history. The story of battles with political and religious combination and intrigue, has been merged for the time in the greater interest of the institutions underlying the politics and the religion of the actors. Yet we have not the whole story. Picturesque narration, philosophic speculation, have not exhausted the forces inherent in history. The life of man, his daily action,—closely allied to his thought and to his affections,—must yield up its fact, its daily doing, before we can comprehend the whole action, the whole story of man in his relation to history. Little things are becoming

great, in that they reveal the sources of greater principles which occasion the movements and currents of humanity. Economy, the daily order of living, and fellowship are homely elements which are coming to be recognised as potent factors in the large drama of history. The great need of this economic story, in completing the whole story, may lead us too far; but a large and imperative work is waiting to be done.

In these pages I have gathered some of the facts in the story of New England life. It is not an exhaustive collection, but it is hoped sufficient material has been secured to show in part what that life has stood for. Considerable independent investigation has been made in the Archives of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, and also in their respective Probate Records. Manuscripts and stray papers in the American Antiquarian Society, New England Historical and Genealogical Society, Rhode Island Historical Society, and elsewhere, have yielded good results. The family papers of the late Thomas C. Amory, Esq., show the commerce of their period. Newspapers in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the American Antiquarian Society, afford many glimpses of the condition of the eighteenth century. Much material of similar import has been drawn from the earlier local histories, and more recent publications of town records. The old-fashioned town histories are mines of crude historical ore, while the actual records of the early time, now being reproduced, are invaluable. A tabulated list of prices will be found under Appendix A.

The sad features of a book are in the possibilities in-

dicated but not accomplished. Nevertheless, the inevitable time comes when the impressible clay hardens into stone; when the work, if not to be completed, yet must be put forth. I have had wise direction, generous aid, loyal support, from scores of scholars and friends; so many have helped, and in such varied proportions, that any enumerated list would be a mockery of my deep gratitude.

W. B. W.

PROVIDENCE, *April 15th, 1890.*

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ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND.

1620-1789.

CHAPTER I.

THE FOUNDING OF NEW ENGLAND.

WHEN the seventeenth century dawned upon Europe, the eyes of men, of statesmen especially, were opening to the possibilities of the New World. A century of exploration, a century of expansion, had followed the opening of the gates of the Atlantic and of the Pacific by the great Genoese navigator and by Prince Henry of Portugal. In the new arrangement of the world, the mediæval Spaniard had won the advantages of position. The best-armed man of the time, balancing his sword with crucifix and rosary, had laid an iron hand on the fairest and richest Americas, intending to grasp and control the destinies of the New World. The Spanish soldier, the Portuguese sailor, into whatever region they went, were soon followed by the Netherland trader and the French adventurer. The Gaul carried the trappings of chivalry as well as the mechanism of mediæval piety into wild regions and among wild men.

These continental nations of Europe were beaten finally in the contest for the rule of the world, by a new power, new among the states struggling toward universal expansion. Spain discovered geographical America; about a generation later she became conscious of political England, when the sagacious Wolsey led out the strong and ambitious Tudor monarch before the astonished eyes of

European statesmen. A nation possessing the best elements of continental races, rich and industrious, hardened by constant intercourse with the seas, compacted through fierce internal struggles, just yielding to the yoke of strong royal government, was carried by the adroit and masterful Wolsey into the larger arena of European polities.

Her insularity, then as always, protected her. It did much more; it constrained and it enlarged her ^{Position of England.} by the same process. The policy of England in continental Europe has never had any direct success. Bloodshed, treasure wasted in France or Spain, in the Low Countries or the Crimea, has never yielded direct return. Whatever return there has been, was secured on fields remote and far from the scene of conflict. The European policy initiated by Wolsey yielded little on the continent, but it strengthened the nation at home, teaching it the peculiar strength of England from her safe location. The great world-church of Rome, in its imperial control of present and future, affected every turn of affairs. Though she could stop the promulgation of Galileo's theories a century later, she could not stop the movement of the earth or the movement of thought. While Europe was convulsed by souls struggling with the state for rights of conscience, by communities struggling with each other for rights of worship, England passed by a curious process of development into a new religious system, into an easy relation of church and state. All the new impulse of protestant and private judgment, all the secured fruits of a state-ordered religion, became hers by easy evolution. Never did individual passion achieve such beneficent results for society, never was sacerdotal weakness such a public benefit.

Thus that great awakening of the human mind, the ^{Spirit of the new time.} new birth of man, which no term fully embodies, which no single movement, not even the Reformation, could contain, swept over the Aryan races, ini-

PELLING them to new explorations, new conquests of their mother earth. The Reformation itself was a failing factor in this profound agitation of the latter sixteenth century. Neither Luther nor Calvin would have welcomed the ideas about to be developed through the Western world. Liberty of conscience, where even toleration should cease to be a virtue, because no one had the power to restrain, was something above and beyond their spiritual ken. They wrestled for the power to save souls in a new way. Meanwhile Europe wearied of internecine piety. The constant speculative exercise of the mind over spiritual problems, often prostituted to political policy and preference, was losing interest for the newly awakened generations. Material wants followed the new desires of these quickened natures. The "gray and melancholy waste" of ocean was losing its terrors for navigators. Two centuries of experience around the world had driven out fabled monsters and almost all the demons of doubt and despair. The glad waters of friendly seas welcomed venturing sailors to their buoyant and rejoicing life.

As the English cross-bow was bent by a mighty effort before the yeoman sent forth upon astonished Europe his far-reaching bolt, so the English adventurer, colonist, state-founder, bent his powers to his work of subduing the world. It was not by mere coincidence that Robert Blake, the founder of English naval supremacy, was born as the sixteenth century turned into the seventeenth. Sagacious Wolsey, bluff Harry, sensible Elizabeth, bold Hawkins and Drake, the chivalric Raleigh, all had worked together, preparing the time for the birth of such a hero. These represented the heroic side of the process. Even more important for posterity than these high lights of history, were the yeomen and lesser gentry, stalwart men and good women of England, whose life in the sixteenth century prepared the way for the final outgoing of the Bradfords and Standishes, the Cradocks and the Winthrops.

This political and social development of England had included a great commercial movement as well.
England moves outward. Toward the last quarter of the century the sea-girt isle awoke to her opportunities of commerce.

Naturally she took her own Baltic trade from the Hanseatic merchants. On the other side, Bristol and Hull reached out in maritime venture, and accumulated capital which should serve in their American operations two generations after Henry VIII. had promoted the Newfoundland fisheries, that a century later were to become the solid support of the new England over the seas.

The great merchant companies fostered by Elizabeth, became powerful means for projecting enterprise into the New World. The feudal principle of government, privilege diversified and ramifying into all forms of social organisation, was replaced by this more effective instrument for coöperation. Capital as well as land, the power of association added to the power of soldiers and captains, all became an embodied force urging forward expansion toward the new countries. Out of this movement, and engendered by it, there came a force greater and more pervasive than the movement itself. This was in the new opportunity afforded for individual enterprise upon the seas. Companies planned expeditions, and ventured their wealth in ships and stores. But the freebooting rover was coming to be a power in society, an influence in the state. Drake's famous voyage around the world in a small vessel with eighty men, his return in 1580 laden with booty, had inflamed all England. Plunder and glory were to be had on easy terms. The "sea-dogs" of Elizabeth's time swarmed in the Channel, and worried Spain everywhere. A commission was easily got from some government warning with Spain. Elizabeth could not have stopped them, and she would not. When the Spanish ambassador threatened war, he states that she quietly said "she would fling me into a dungeon."

This business could not continue without protest in arms and the shock of battle. The blow fell. The great Latin power put forth its utmost strength, and prodigious fleets of war-vessels swarmed around the shores of little England and into her home Channel. But all in vain. Catholic and Protestant joined in fervent loyalty, in the warmest love for a common land. The big Armada, though frowned upon by fortune, was fairly proven unequal to the new, adventurous, individual warriors of the North; it was beaten and shattered beyond repair.

The "sea-dogs" of Drake and other partisans were as ready in trade as in the fight. Mercury was fast rising into equal partnership with his elder brother Mars in the new movements of nations. While religion played a great part in adventure and conquest, it was, among the races of the North, a religion of each and every man, and not an organised hierarchy taking possession unto itself. Not priests but ministers, not generals but captains, not state agents but traders turning property at the highest advantage, all together went from England and Holland to found a New World.

A continental civilisation, the formation and entry into that great society of nations we call the world History by Continents. of a new continental member, is the greatest of historical problems. While the study of the mind of man — his religion and philosophy — must ever be our chief interest, the conditions of this mental activity, its broad relations to geography and history, become an essential part of the purely mental development. A world is greater, but a continent contains as much as we can grasp. A new planet swimming into the mental eye of the astronomer has always made a powerful figure of rhetoric, but the discovery of a continent and its assured occupation, if less startling, affects the contemplative imagination yet more powerfully.

The present disposition and appropriation of Africa by

the civilised states of Europe is often considered to be an illustration, and even a parallel of the appropriation of the Americas in the sixteenth and ^{America contrasted with Africa.} seventeenth centuries. But the points of difference are even greater than those of agreement.

Africa in its part longest known — Egypt — is a part of Continental Asia. This part long nourished, perhaps invented, the most essential features of ancient civilisations. On the other hand, the Mediterranean states of Northern Africa belonged to Europe. By flora and fauna, in geography and history, this narrow fringe of the great dark continent belonged to Europe, — the centre of human activity, the birthplace of political communities. These limited territories played a great part in the classic or middle period of civilisation. Passing the deserts, we come to Africa proper. Like the other great southern continents — the lower America and Australia, which have come late into civilised society — it is heavy and unshapen. It is even less broken in contour, or by the approach of islands, than these other continents. Its enormous bulk, an unbroken magnitude, distinguished Africa from other continents ; it has kept it away from the great currents of human civilisation, however near they might be, considering distance merely. Climate was debilitating, but Asia, the mother of civilisation, was nearly as hot.

The *Æ*gean and other small seas, Scotch friths and Scandinavian fiords, many bays and frequent rivers, the Italian and Spanish peninsulas, the thalassic Mediterranean, — large enough for development, not grand enough to repel, — all these geographical features worked together in elevating Europe, in bringing her into the front rank of the human family. But Africa, big, sad, terrible land, had never a peninsula or inland sea, hardly an island or bay, and few harbors. This enormous, unwieldy mass, in its central and largest portion, was lifted 4,000 or 5,000 feet above the level of the sea, after a strip of coast lands

was passed. The sea was the only approach left by deserts, and the sea was cut off by the clumsy elevation of the land. Mighty rivers traversed this massive plateau ; but they merely cut through the cake, the great lump of land. Torrents struggled through great gashes in this inaccessible lump of earth ; they plowed through narrow valleys, plunged over rocky falls, madly cutting their way to the sea. There was no kindly flow through even meadows and swelling prairies, inviting the approach of man. Nature was vast and terrible.

Interpenetration of land and water makes intercourse and the commerce of continental civilisations. Asia was partially subdued very early, by the broad Chinese rivers, and those great sluiceways of the Himalaya that fertilised the Indian peninsula. Uncertain caravans of camels connected her with Rome and mediæval Europe. Even Asia must wait for the long-reaching ocean voyage, and for the steam-vexed artificial ditch at Suez, before she could join the great society of modern nations. Africa, nearest yet most remote of continents, was kept away from world-life by sandy barriers, and by the huge bulk of her land, unpierced as it was by any easy-going natural water-ways. The vague interior might fascinate a restless explorer, but the dubious communication even beclouded the information he brought back, and condemned his hard-earned facts into the category of old wives' tales.

Thus the physical features of difficult and unapproachable Africa, and of North America separated by wide seas but easily approached and entered, differed very much. But the men of the sixteenth century were very like those of the nineteenth. Now that Africa has been penetrated and opened to occupation, the same eternal greed of nations and lust for territory displays itself. Now, as then, all the Western and Southern powers of Europe press forward for a share of the welcome spoil.

As we have indicated, when the sixteenth century closed,

England was best organised and equipped for occupying, holding, and improving the new continent. Feudal system and mere military adventure was fast giving place, among the practical islanders, to ways of trade and a capacity for political order. Toward possessing the East, and the rich commerce of Oriental lands, she created the East Indies. ^{East and West Indies.} India Company by charter in 1600. This instrument was fated to change the destinies of hundreds of millions of men. Into the opposite hemisphere, now fast losing its mystic character, nine years later she sent her civilising force in the same corporate or associated form. Its title was "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the first Colony in Virginia."¹ Great as were the results of the Eastern adventurers, those in the Western hemisphere have been greater. In the Old World, England found accumulated riches, and institutions running back far beyond historic record. These institutions she has renovated and rendered almost into a new civilisation. In the New World, finding barbarism, she planted new institutions even greater than the parent stock from which they sprung. And Americans, descendants of those sixteenth century Englishmen, have created riches far surpassing the treasures of "Ormus and of Ind."

Let us now trace the steps which led to the occupation of New England, a small part of the North American territory, but a large factor in the great nation of these United States.

Early voyages to New England. Sir Walter Raleigh's disastrous attempt to found a colony at Roanoke in 1587 was a negative illustration of the main position I have taken. Raleigh was a chevalier of the old type, one of the last feudal adventurers. His expedition failed, "to the shame of that age," for the queen and her advisers should have rescued the poor colo-

¹ "Virginia" then practically included the whole Atlantic shore of North America.

nists, though the knight had been banished from the royal favor. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a noble representative of the chivalry of England in these North Atlantic adventures, had been sacrificed through his splendid devotion to his sailors. In his smallest bark, the "Squirrel," of ten tons, he faced the stormy seas, and was lost on the homeward voyage.

As navigators, from the great Columbus onward, had sailed and sailed, hoping to find the rich Orient by way of the Western hemisphere, so they sailed to the Americas by way of the West Indies. Mark the change, as Northern Virginia or the new England is coming nearer to the England of Europe. Bartholomew Gosnold, a practical sailor, one of Raleigh's captains, sailed from Falmouth in 1602 with thirty-two persons; eight were seamen, twenty were to become planters. He laid a straight course for the first time, and after seven weeks landed somewhere near Cape Ann. Thence he sailed southward, took large quantities of codfish, and named the headland Cape Cod for that reason. Gosnold with his party are considered the first Englishmen who trod upon Massachusetts soil. South of Buzzard's Bay and Martha's Vineyard, the island now called Cuttyhunk was named by Gosnold, Elizabeth Island. Here he proposed a settlement, and on landing dug and stoned a cellar for a house, which a portion of his men built. They remained less than two months, and, abandoning the project, sailed for home. This was the first English occupation of our district and therefore is interesting.

Passing the voyages of Pring and Weymouth, we come to the great figure of Henry Hudson. He touched at Cape Cod in 1609, on his way to the discovery of the splendid river, which has been such an important element in the subsequent life of the Northern states of America. In 1614, another explorer, romantic in every detail,—except in the name of John Smith,—came upon

a trading expedition, projected by certain London merchants. He touched the coast near the mouth of the Penobscot, explored the bays and harbors, Cape Ann, Massachusetts Bay, Cape Cod, etc. He gave us our beloved name, New England.

Smith printed "A Description of New England," scattering many copies with maps during his journeys through the western counties of England. Gorges, a gentleman adventurer destined to play a great part in ill-managed efforts to settle Northern New England, was now busy with patents, charters, and projected expeditions. All this movement prepared the commercial,

^{Preparation for colonisation.} prising spirit of the merchants toward venturing capital. It likewise initiated a more subtle

tion. and powerful force. The restless, energetic mind of the people was being gradually prepared to risk life and family in the forlorn hope of emigration. The far-away country was being opened by trading intercourse, and was making itself known to the popular mind. In the year 1616, eight ships sailed from London and Plymouth to our coasts.¹ They carried quantities of fish and oil to Spain and Portugal. The year 1618 is also noteworthy in the same commerce.² The mere trading expeditions made surveys and brought home maps of the country. A futile attempt was made in 1607, under the

First or London Company of Virginia, to found a settlement at Norumbega, near the mouth of the Kennebec, in Maine.

Meanwhile a religious and social revolution was being wrought that affected a small group of English people,

¹ Macpherson, *On Commerce*, ii. 285.

² Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, was one of the most accomplished writers of his time. In 1624 he printed a tract (now in Carter-Brown Library), "An Encouragement to Colonies." Of New England he says, p. 31 : "The fishing there (not sought for) was found, which doth prove now so profitable, as fortie or fiftie Sayle are employed there from England yeerely."

but was the beginning of momentous results on this side of the Atlantic. In 1608 a number of families, under the lead of their pastor, John Robinson, removed to Amsterdam, and in the year following to Leyden, carrying their goods and chattels. They were religious "Separatists." They wished to worship, in the words of Governor Bradford, "according to y^e simplicitie of y^e gospell & to be ruled by y^e laws of Gods word."¹ Robinson was more than a preacher or pastor. He was a natural leader of men, a constructor of society. His pure life, his pious and fervid zeal, inspired men with the respect due to a Christian minister. And he was sagacious in affairs; large-minded in conducting and advising the flock committed to his charge. "None did more offend him than those that were close and cleaving to them selves and retired from y^e commœ good; as also such as would be stiffe & riged in matters of outward order, and invey against y^e evills of others."² . . .

The Separatists go to Holland.
With his assistant, Elder William Brewster, he skilfully managed this community, sojourning for twelve years in a strange land. But life was hard in Holland, and as a community they were not on their own ground, or upon their own political foundations. After serious consultation and much misgiving, they concluded to emigrate again, and to establish themselves in Northern Virginia, or the new England. The Dutch had made them liberal offers of transport to their district of New Amsterdam. But Thomas Weston,³ acting for himself and other merchants of London, advised them to avoid the Dutch and not to lean much upon the Virginia Company of London. In the little Speedwell which they had purchased, they sailed to Southampton to meet the Mayflower, in which they were ultimately to sail for the Western world. "They knew they were pilgrimes, and looked not much on those

¹ *Hist. Plymouth*, p. 4.

² *Ibid.*, p. 18.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

things (they had left), but lift up their eyes to y^e heavens, their dearest cuntrie, and quieted their spirits.”¹

It is certain that the sojourn in Holland was an elementary education, and an important preparation for the future life of the Pilgrim colony in Massachusetts. The larger migration from England nine or ten years later was a more powerful movement in numbers and in social force. But the pioneer expedition was far more difficult, and a certain impulse and direction came into American life, from the Pilgrims only.

The things lacking in so many colonising experiments that have failed, were supplied to the Pilgrims out of their hard experience in Holland. The home spirit has been exported in many expeditions, but the constant fortitude that founds and maintains homes in a wilderness has been less frequently carried in ships or caravans. The power of living together, of sustaining each other in difficulty, was fostered and improved by the Leyden flock, under the conduct of Robinson and Brewster. It was transported to the New World: its influence has been spreading now nearly three centuries.

The voyage of the *Mayflower* and the settlement of the Pilgrims in Plymouth, are well known. It is considered that Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Maine were settled under grants or alleged grants from the Council for New England.²

While this little band of pioneers was moving by painful steps outward into Holland, across the seas into the wilderness, to work out a better form of living according to their own conscience, a larger and deeper movement was gradually developing itself in England. The Puritan idea in society, destined to create a great party controlling the state for a time, was now

¹ *Hist. Plymouth*, p. 59.

² Mr. Deane in *Nar. and Crit. Amer.*, iii. 310.

working toward a religious and social ideal. A disinterested critic has said: "While the Puritan was troubled by what he ought to believe, he was even more troubled by what he ought to do." This profound motive, while too weak for political action controlling the state, expended itself in attempts to create new and ideally complete societies beyond the Atlantic. Though Puritan political work was destructive, failing in the art of governing, the Puritan religious and social ideal became a fluctuating but permanent influence in all English and American societies.

While the Primate Laud was driving the Church of England to measures which, in their reaction, temporarily prostrated both church and crown, the Puritans were oppressed beyond endurance. The rising commercial intercourse with northern America, I have described, the successful plantation at Plymouth, all induced the oppressed men and women to flee for the freedom to be found in a better home. "Thousands of 'the best,' scholars, merchants, lawyers, farmers, were flying over the Atlantic to seek freedom and purity of religion in the wilderness."¹ In this great migration the people of eastern England furnished the larger part.² This distinctively English stock, bred from the purest strains of German crossed with Scandinavian blood, brought forth the New Englander.

Mr. John White and the Dorchester company in England sent out a fishing and trading expedition which settled at Cape Ann in 1623. The settlement was removed to Naumkeag or Salem in 1626. Two years later John Endicott, "a man well known to divers persons of good note," went over to direct it. The various lesser operations in England⁴ issued in one large emigration, which was destined to lay the solid foundation of our New England States. The charter of the Gov-

¹ Greene's *English People*, iii. 163. ² Doyle, *Puritan Cols.*, i. 27.

ernor and Company of Massachusetts Bay was granted in 1629. The corporation was a trading company. The Puritan society-makers were obliged to cast their ideas into this mould. It was ready to their hand, through the antecedent voyages of "sea-dogs," adventurers and merchants, seeking profit from the new countries. They could not ask for privileges from the court which should reveal their intense desire for institutions or government more liberal than those prevailing at home. The charter was careful to say, . . . "as their good life and orderlie conversa^con maie wynn and incite the natives of country to the knowledg and obedience of the onlie true God and Savior of mankinde and the Christian fayth, which in our royal inten^con and the adventurers free profession is the principall ende of this planta^con."¹

There was much reference to fishing also, and to the protection of the rights of the home fishermen. Free fishing had been forbidden in Gorges' patent of 1620,² but fishing was now a public interest in England. With this instrument John Winthrop and his companions founded the settlement in Boston Bay, from which ideas have gone forth even larger than the largest hopes of the great Puritans,—ideas which by their fruitful conjunction with some germinating in other parts of the Atlantic States, have resulted in the creation of the American Republic. In this year 1630 Massachusetts had, besides the Old Colony, eight plantations or settlements, namely, Salem, Charlestown, Dorchester, Boston, Watertown, Roxbury, Mystic, and Lynn.³

While the Puritan motive was a mainspring of the emigration to Massachusetts Bay, as individual liberty of conscience was the corresponding impulse to Plymouth, we must remember that much common clay mingled with

¹ *Col. Rec. Mass.*, i. 17.

² *Nar. and Crit. Hist. Amer.*, iii. 296.

³ Palfrey's *New England*, i. 323.

these glorious cements in forming the new sacred vessels. The majority of these men and women left home and braved terrors of sea and wilderness to better their condition economically and socially.

We must now consider the physical characteristics of the country into which these wandering state-makers had come. The first thought suggested by the European occupation of the Atlantic American coasts is, the very meagre political sagacity shown by the English court and nation. I have described the backward state of Africa, due to its physical formation, and especially due to the rugged channels of its rivers, those natural approaches to any continent. Three magnificent highways of water opened the lands now occupied by the United States and Canada. The Spanish, the French, the Dutch, discovered them all. The controlling one—the great gateway through the Appalachian barriers of the Atlantic coast—was won for the Dutch by Hudson, the Englishman. France held the northern valley of the St. Lawrence for more than 150 years. We may say that the splendid Mississippi valley, with its enormous possibilities, was never comprehended by Englishmen in the slightest degree. By these “blundering processes”¹ of migration, the English “sea-dogs,” Virginia adventurers, and Puritan seceders, bundled themselves down on any convenient shore of this continent. The bearing of these irregular and independent processes of settlement on any course of political development is obvious.

While the greater politics—the large movement of states, or the indifference of statesmen—disposed New England to comparative political isolation, the fixed outlines of her territory compelled her to a life of her own. Mountains and straggling, rugged hills, separated her from the great northern valleys. Until the middle of our century, when iron ways

Physical features of N. E.

Communication with other colonies is only by sea.

¹ Mr. Shaler in *Nat. and Crit. Amer.*, iv., xxiii.

and steam-driven carriages pierced the mountain chains, carrying exchanges into the Hudson, Mohawk, and the St. Lawrence valleys, New England was a coastwise community, physically forced into the economic development of the Atlantic coasts. When land travel absorbed the interest once dominated by water travel, then she became an economic factor in the whole United States, as she had been a part of the Atlantic States. Socially, her development was so positive that it extended into the other colonies as early as the middle of the eighteenth century.

The rivers of New England, though noble streams for a small territory, did not control, they hardly affected, her early settlement and progress. In the new industrial development beginning soon after the Revolution, the water power furnished by these vigorous currents was a powerful stimulant. The force stored away from drought in the water of the numerous lakes and ponds was even more effective, for it gave opportunities on a smaller scale to individuals in developing diversified industries. The ponds of Rhode Island were noteworthy examples. After steam-engines worked by high pressure and other improved devices, furnished force cheaply about the middle of our century, the water of the streams was not relatively so important. In the early times it was indispensable. But in colonial days, partly owing to disturbances of the French and Indians, and partly owing to rugged descents and rapids, the rivers did not influence the course of settlement.

In the frequent harbors and bays, in the 700 miles of coast line, in the great sound stretching across Connecticut, and in the sounds about lower Massachusetts, were the physical features, the initiatory characteristics, that controlled the destiny of New England: It was not merely a seacoast: it was a coast modulated to the land. Ocean, the great main, swept along her shores with all the forces of the world. These little seas, bays, and

inlets enabled her to embrace its tides, whether of water or of commercial and elevating intercourse. Big and little interacted and interchanged in the ceaseless flow of the great ocean, in the more gentle movement of the petty seas.

Perhaps the largest single factor in these physical conditions was Long Island Sound. It has been called an "oval strait," a very ill-fitting term. It is an inland sea, and it was of vital importance in the early movement of traffic and social intercourse. We have seen the conditions which separated our colonies from the more fertile districts and naturally richer soils westward and southward. Very early the New England men were obliged to import food from those districts. Very early they exchanged their fish, or merchandise procured through fish, for the products of Virginia and the Middle States. Likewise, the Sound was the sole medium of communication with the important colonies in Connecticut and the western district of Massachusetts.

The little shallop and ketches of fifteen or twenty tons swung boldly around Cape Cod in good weather; then they crept under partial shelter through Nantucket and the Vineyard Sounds, or anchored in Narragansett Bay, until they could stretch across into Long Island Sound and make the port of New York. Small causes make large effects in the beginning of a colony. Long Island Sound was the close yet flexible binder that tied all the harbors and coast line to the larger interior beyond. Even now, when wider development and travel have multiplied avenues of communication, "the Sound" keeps a good second place in all southwestern communication with New England. By the Connecticut and Thames, by Providence, Fall River, and New Bedford, inland steamers ply frequently. The monotonous thud of paddle and the uneasy twist of screw compete steadily, though slowly, with the restless gallop of the iron horse along the iron

Long Island
Sound a great
factor.

landways. Had the great Atlantic beat upon the southern shores of New England unrestrained, our development must have been something different.

The soil.

The soil was poor. In a few places, next the sand dunes of the coast, an alluvium of loam makes fields fertile to this day. The valleys of the great rivers were rich in bottom lands. But in general the hilly land was stony and gravelled, rough, and reluctant under the cultivator's hand. The first settlers expected much from the native or "Indian" grass. It was overrated. A good dependence for pioneer settlers, it was soon replaced by exotic grasses, or "English hay." The whole country was well watered. Springs, brooks, small lakes, and ponds, everywhere furnished pure water.

In minerals, the colonists availed of the deposits of iron — especially in bog ores — and of the limestone of Rhode Island. But the more important granite, slate, and marble, the inferior but abundant coal, were hardly touched in early times.

The Spaniards and French went out for gold and furs. The English, starting for the same coveted and easily handled wares, found fish on the North Atlantic fisheries. shores. How did they avail of the swarming myriads of fish and convert them into solid wealth? I hope to show that fish became more than mere merchandise for exchange. Though it was always that, it was a constant factor in the industrial organism of New England for two centuries. Not only the store and shop, but the shipyard, farm, and homestead, became parts in a system of manufacture and exchange. In this industrial evolution, fish from the seas was the chief motor in starting the round of exchange.

To bring about such a movement in civilisation required more than lands or harbors, fishing opportunities, or other means of production. One of the most romantic characters in the great Elizabethan period was John

Smith. We cannot picture the needs of a colony—a new state—in words better than his, and he spoke out of experience. “It requires all the best parts of art, judgement, courage, honesty, constancy, diligence, and industry, to doe but mere well, . . . and there is no misery worse than be conducted by a foole, or commanded by a coward.”¹

It is generally assumed that the French, encumbered by the trappings of feudalism and fettered by a strict ecclesiastical establishment, were beaten in the race for America by the English seeking for homes founded on religious and political convictions. This is true, but it does not convey the whole truth. No one loves home better than a Frenchman. No better ministers ever served humanity than the French priests in Canada. The great Louis, out of his own brain and with his own hand, fostered the Canadian colonies by every means his system would allow. Means beyond the resources of an empire, and beyond the sacrifices of a great church, were needed to bring the qualities enumerated by Smith into a working state.

The home-making power.

It was not merely the love of home or of religion that enabled the Anglo-Americans, and particularly the New Englanders, to build up a state. It was the power of carrying the home outward, the working it into institutions common to other homes and other individuals, that built up our New England colonies. It must be remembered that the New Englanders and their descendants never made a failure in a colony. When the burghers, Bradford and Winthrop, Hooker and Coddington, planted settlements, these were not mere towns, or enclosed places. No walls or ramparts yarded them from the world without, whether hostile or friendly. These plantations were communities in the egg. All the factors of previous living—home, church, military organisation, political representa-

¹ 3 *Mass. H. C.*, iii. 52.

tion — were enfolded in the families and the persons of these English men and women.

These towns, or, as I would prefer to call them, these ^{They form} communities, were founded on three leading principles: (1.) Freehold land regulated by the best usage of many centuries. (2.) A meeting, the local and social expression of religious life and family culture. (3.) A representative, democratic gathering, corresponding to the old folk-mote of the Germanic races.

In later times, under the pressure of external difficulties, — French and Indian wars, or oppression by the British government, — these small communities gradually formed states which, with their fellows, are the basis of the American Republic. But our present business is with the germinal communities before there was or could have been any large polities.

These social units, communities glowing with political life that rooted so quickly and so effectively in these colonies, would not have thus developed without another factor which produced important economic results. It will have been remarked that the physical conditions of New

^{Independence within,} England, while admirably adapted to independence in men and institutions, were positively ^{dependence on commerce without.} circumscribed and limited by dependence on the

outward world. The sea around the shores, the harbors and coast communications at home, the fertile regions teeming with produce south and west, must all interplay, and keep the people in full beat with other peoples and other lands. This was matter of social life or death. It has been remarked by a good observer that the varying climate along the Atlantic seaboard developed commerce in an orderly series; that each district having a life of its own, with products differing, naturally exchanged with the other districts.

New England, independent in her political condition, was thus economically and socially compelled to frequent

intercourse with other communities corresponding with her own, yet differing in many characteristics. Nature and several happy accidents of the time contributed to force her into actual free trade, long before such unrestrained intercourse obtained, either with merchants or rulers, with statesmen or political philosophers. However little the peoples of New England, of Virginia, and the Carolinas might accord, however little the crude political systems of Rhode Island, Maryland, and Pennsylvania might bind these commonwealths together, yet peoples and commonwealths were bound by ties stronger than race or politics. Trade, an intercourse free in itself before "free trade" was ever named, bound these communities in a mighty and enduring social chain.

As the seventeenth century began, there were in Europe old civilisations bursting with new life. In America there were new lands held in our districts by comparatively weak aboriginal races. In England was a powerful nation animated by the incoming religious and political freedom of individual man. The whole body politic was wrestling with incipient forms of political freedom soon to be developed into the ordered members of a modern state. This severe gestation of England threw off some rare specimens of humanity, who carried in their families and little communities some of the best life of the old world.

The peculiar country of New England, combining the powers of land and sea, a soil not sterile unto death nor fruitful unto luxury, welcomed and received these incipient communities. A whole-some neglect in the home administration, busied with its own troubles, left the immigrants to develop freely along political paths little known in those days. At the same moment, the more splendid and careful government of France half strangled as it swaddled the growth of its infant colonies in America.

We received
the newest
life of Old
Europe.

The life of these communities forming towns, of these towns forming colonial states, must always interest students of history. Each generation of men pictures history anew, according to the opportunity and the thought of those men. Our generation rather avoids the narration of state craft, the mere description of combat and wars, the tortuous evolution of dogmatic belief. It craves the actual doings of individual men and women, or the intimate life of families and social communities. Individuals, families, and communities forge out their lives and their life into certain material forms we call economic. The man forms his household ; that in turn forms the state.

The household forms the state.

To reproduce individual man in his daily walk and habit, to depict his surrounding circumstances, to ascertain the relation of this man and this circumstance to humanity and the universe, is the constant province of history. Some facts from this museum, some results from these universal causes, may be found and set forth by any faithful student. The minute account of the social economy of New England may make a leaf in the great volume of history.

CHAPTER II.

ABORIGINAL INTERCOURSE WITH THE COLONISTS.

THE colonists of New England brought their social tendencies, their embryonic institutions, to a land where the native dwelt in a far less developed state and condition. The Algonquin native meeting Bradford or Winthrop, Hooker or Roger Williams, had little, beyond the simple instincts of humanity, in common with these inheritors of thirty centuries of civilisation. This savage child of the woods, brave where cunning failed, enduring in the suppression of one appetite by another, strong in animal combat, met man trained in all the virtues that combine for civilisation. The savage, proud in his isolated independence, too proud in his ignorance to learn the freedom springing from mutual dependence, was the social opposite of the patient, forbearing Pilgrim whom Robinson trained to civic endurance in Holland, and Standish marshalled in defence of home and kindred.

As the individual, so the tribe. The petty totem or clan system broke like indigenous pith under the shock of contest with strong-fibred Europeans, bound together by social and political ties. Singly or collectively, these crystalline members of humanity ^{An undeveloped man.} broke and fell apart under any positive social pressure. Forethought, the source of material comfort, of future development, was foreign to them, as to neighboring bear or wolf. The idea of present abstinence for future subsistence hardly penetrated their desultory and unconnected thoughts. Politically the Indian organisation was a rope of sand. In military affairs, where the genius of combat

ought to bring out all the power of warriors, the system failed to show forth the qualities of heroes. There was neither Achilles nor Hector where there were no walls of Troy. "The Iroquois, the Indian of Indians, the thorough savage, yet a finished and developed savage," did not develop a nation or a polity.

Our coast Indians were among the best of these poor races. Penacooks, Massachusetts, Wampanoags, Narragansetts, Pequots, and Mohicans were the chief tribes inhabiting the territory with which we are concerned. The fierce Iroquois had driven them eastward, and occasionally the Mohawks exacted tribute from the nearest tribes. But the mountain ranges along the Hudson and Connecticut protected them from actual invasion. These tribes tilled the soil in a rude way, and the seas gave them fish abundantly. Moreover, they made wampum from sea shells, and traded in this product with the interior tribes. As we shall see, this medium of commerce played an important part in all the life of these regions. Wampum brought wealth to all the shore tribes, to the Narragansetts especially.

By a fortunate coincidence, the progress of civilisation was favored by an epidemic which had recently swept off thousands of the natives. Eastern Massachusetts was almost depopulated when the European colonists landed. The first planters found fields ready to their hands and improved them rapidly. In 1637, with politic art, they arrayed the Narragansetts against the powerful Pequots. The combined savage and civilised forces easily exterminated their antagonists. Nearly forty years later the Narragansetts and Wampanoags were likewise destroyed.

Meanwhile, during these periods 1621-1637 and 1637-1676, these tribes of Indians, powerful in themselves, strong enough if united to have crushed easily the incoming bands of immigrants, lived in comparative peace with their white neighbors. We may ask properly, Why did

these societies endure each other at all, and why did the peaceful life end in wars of extermination? Let us examine these questions with the least possible bias and pre-possession toward either party.

The peaceful life of these peoples was due to the fact that the Indian had an established system or ^{The Indian can trade.} method of trade and intercourse, served and fostered by a money called wampum. This medium of exchange connected together the differing lives of these societies for a time. Before we pursue the details of this intercourse we must consider the radical differences of the two peoples, and state the reasons for the inevitable conflict that finally ruined the weaker party.

The Indian tribal organisation was based on a system of clans, or upon the *totem*. The Iroquois confederacy originally consisted of five tribes — ^{The totem social system.} Mohawks, Onondagas, etc.—and of eight clans, Wolf, Tortoise, etc. A Mohawk Wolf might marry an Oneida Tortoise or a Mohawk Tortoise, but he could not marry one of his own clan, or family as we should say. These clans were not equal; three excelled in rank so much that the traces of the others are almost lost. Each was known by its *totem* mark, tortoise, etc., often tattooed on the skin. The members could elect or depose a sachem, or chief; could inherit property mutually; must help and defend each other; must redress and avenge wrong; could give names to members,—a most significant custom; could adopt strangers; and had other privileges and duties. This *totem* system is one of the very oldest human institutions, historic or prehistoric. It has been found in all parts of the world, marking the passage of the lowest tribes into a higher barbaric state.¹ It differed from all other forms of social organisation, and it was a grouping force of tremendous power. It was founded in kinship, but it adopted, and, as it never intermarried, it gave the

¹ Maine, *Early Laws and Customs*, p. 286.

extension of adoption to the inherent force of blood and kin. It built up and consolidated barbaric society ; it was fitted to rend and destroy the better parts of civilised communities. The New England tribes were not as highly developed as those master savages, the Iroquois, but they had the same kind of totemic system.¹

I say this must destroy modern civilisation. Many of the acts and customs we ascribe to Indian treachery, or to their tribal diplomacy and politics, grew out of a natural and faithful adherence to this peculiar social organism. The object of civil law is to make me testify against my own brother in behalf of the state ; the object of protection under a barbaric *totem* is to prevent the state, or any other power, from injuring one of *us*. The regulated custom of a tribe foreshadows dimly the coming of law and justice. But justice, in our sense, has not yet come. The organism of tribal custom — very effective in itself — stops before it achieves a thoroughly social abstraction, before it subjects the individual to the whole of society. Persons stand for formulated ideas of social justice ; personal vengeance must atone for personal wrong. Revenge, the claiming back something for wrongs suffered, underlies the barbaric idea of justice. A child of civilisation learns directly or by heredity the motive, "I give you this for love." The savage child says, "I give this fruit for that sugar, this blow for that taunt." This direct responsibility, instant revenge for present wrong, liability of person to person, was the main forming principle of savage societies. There were consolidated into tribal government many rude political, religious, and social obligations, but this one principle of totemic obligation overshadowed them all.

The Indian's system was so deficient in the larger organs and functions, which we now consider essential in all

¹ Morgan, *Anc. Society*, p. 173.; R. Williams, *Key*, p. 121, ed. 1827.

government, that the wonder is, it accomplished so much. The French observers, not likely to overrate any system not their own, compared that of the Iroquois to the organism of a watch, in the nice adjustment of its parts to the ordered movement of the whole.¹ While they condemned justly the barbaric system of punishing crime through one's relatives and friends, instead of through the guilty criminal, yet they admitted that bad crimes were not so common as they were under the splendid imperialism of France.

The New England savage was a man of the woods ; the Puritans would have made him into a peasant, a ^{Savage and} Puritan. man of the fields ; they never contemplated in him a citizen, a representative man and constituent part of the state. This possibility was beyond their ken ; this common privilege of citizenship, the slow development of later time, was beyond the reach of the lower members of their own race. At best, the contact of the two races was a vexed and vexatious question. We must consider the efforts of the New England men toward a solution in the light of their own century, and give them credit for an honest effort to make a better man out of the Indian. This effort was made within the narrow limits of their own consciousness, under inevitable conditions, which this century recognizes as the conditions of opposing social systems. The savages were indeed children of a larger growth. Their remarkable patience and stolid endurance under torture was a factitious virtue, bred out of manners, not out of morals. They had little of what we call moral restraint.² Their wills moved within certain inflexible limits of custom, but it was will nevertheless. Passionate in affection ; their own children ruled them. Roger Williams asks for a drink of water,³ and his host directs his son, eight years old, to bring it. The boy re-

¹ Parkman, *Jesuits in N. A.*, p. lx.

² *Ibid.*, p. lxxviii.

³ Roger Williams, *Key*, p. 45.

fuses, and Williams delivers a moral lecture on the duties of parents and children. The Indian takes a stick to flog the boy into obedience, the boy another to fight it out. The father suffers more than the child, in this effort to bring manners into accord with a foreign standard of morals. With this defective moral culture, the Indians were thrown into a complex legal system devised to keep a few rascals from hindering the easy and constant practice of virtue among the better people, the great majority of the colonial communities. The whole legal procedure was a dreaded constraint. The patriarchal judgment of Miantonomo,¹ "sitting at the gate," as we may say by metaphor, was better in native eyes than the best rendering of statute and precedent by Winthrop or Bradford. The Indians were tempted in every way; the virtue of the Europeans was not their virtue; the white rascals were preying on them always, while red men were punished for crimes which hardly differed in their eyes from the petty virtues of the whites. Then there was an overwhelming and inevitable tendency toward injustice against the Indian. For example, Plymouth² fines 40s. and condemns to the stocks a cunning citizen of Rehoboth "for goeing into an Indian house, and taking away an Indian child and som goods, in lue of a debt." There was a muddle of barbarism and the forms of civilisation; debt lawfully incurred, says Pecksniff; child-ravishing and plunder, says any honorable man in any age. How many such wrongs went unpunished; how many similar but not indictable offences rankled in the Wampanoag and Narragansett bosom when the tribes stood at bay in the

¹ *R. I. C. R.*, i. 107. The colony tried to meet this difficulty by giving Miantonomo power to "see the Tryal" in matters involving over ten fathoms of wampum; and Rhode Island voted in 1673 to try an Indian for murder by a jury of six Englishmen and six Indians, and that Indian testimony should be received. I do not find that this experiment was repeated. See *R. I. C. R.*, i. 509.

² *Col. Rec.*, iii. 74.

Swamp fight! Wherever there was a difference between man and man, it was against the native. Rhode Island enacted in 1666¹ that no Indian should keep a hog with cut-marks in his ears; nor could any one sell a sheep, swine, or other skin without the ears, under severe penalties. The inference was plain that Indians would steal pigs if they could, and the colonists thus prevented their availing of their opportunity. But what a condition for the race, once haughty and proprietary, now dropping into subjection after thirty years of joint occupancy! The pressure of the superior race was constant and cumulating. In 1664 Plymouth fines five Indians 20s. each for misdemeanors; in 1665 five Indians owe £5; in 1668 £25 is brought forward as "remaines of the forty pound from the Indians."² They were condemned by the General Court to work out debts at 12d. per day. Statistics prove little directly, but they indicate the facts that go to the proof. In seven years, from 1661-68, at Plymouth, there are fifteen prosecutions against Indians for trespass and stealing, while there were only three prosecutions against whites for trespass on the Indians. All these dates are in the crucial time, when the aboriginal mind was seething, and inflaming itself for the final revolt.

The transfer of the land from native owners to the white settlers was fairly done in New England, Land transfers. generally considered. Much sentiment has been wasted in charging injustice to the buyer, and in attributing hardship to the Indian seller. Land is worth so much in all solid social systems, that every age overrates the value of barbaric, uncultivated territory. We forget that the value of every soil is in the atmosphere of intelligence, industry, and virtue diffused over it by resolute and enduring citizens. Land titles vary with the political and social power which occasions them. Boston

¹ *R. I. C. R.*, ii. 172.

² *Plymouth C. R.*, viii. 111, 113, 124.

peninsula was worth so little to the settlers that they never troubled Chickataubut, the native suzerain, to make a deed of it, though he never objected to the occupation. Half a century later, when Dudley and Andros were disturbing the political foundations of the colony, then the citizens bethought themselves of the original owners of the soil. They resorted to the living representative of Chickataubut, his grandson Charles Josias, and obtained a deed.¹ This they recorded gravely in 1708, that it might become a corner-stone of Suffolk County.

Aquidneck, now lighted by the brilliant villas of Newport, was conveyed in more legitimate and continuous fashion. The "liberty of conscience" men, outlawed from Massachusetts, were forced to plant their homes on the most stable political foundation attainable. They extinguished the native titles to the land in the most formal manner, and it was a curious process,² revealing the shading and intersecting lines of Indian ownership. Coddington testified in 1677 that in 1636-37 he went to the local sachem Wonnumetonomey to buy the island. "His answer was that Canonicus and Miantonomo were the Chief sachems, and he could not sell the lands; whereupon this deponent with some others went from Aquidneck Island into the Narragansett, and bought the Island of them." Canonicus with a bow and arrow, Miantonomo with an arrow, signed the deed March 24, 1636-37; Roger Williams, Randall Holden, *Mishamoh*, son of Canonicus, witnessing by marks. The consideration was forty fathoms of white beads, to be equally divided between Canonicus and Miantonomo; and a further item, "that by giveinge by Miantunomus' (hand) ten coates and twenty howes to the present inhabitants, they shall remove themselves off the Island before next winter." In 1638 Wanamataunewit witnesseth that he has "received

¹ *Mem. Hist. Bos.* (Ellis), i. 249.

² *R. I. C. R.*, i. 46, 47, 48, 51.

five fathom of wampum and doe consent to the contents." Oasamequin, or Massasoit, the Wampanoag or Pokanoket sachem of Mount Hope, freely consents that " Coddington and his friends united shall make use of any grasse or trees on ye Maine land on Powakasick side, and doe promise loveinge and just carriage of myselfe and all my men to the said Mr. Coddington and English his friends united to him, havinge received five fathom of wampum as gratuity." All this was by the advice of Williams, who directed them to propitiate all the Indians by every means in their power. May 11, 1639, Miantonomo receipts for " tenn fathom of wampum peage and one broad cloth coate (as a gratuity) for my paines and travell in removeing of the natives off the Island of Aquednecke." Three days later Weshaganesett receives five fathoms and a coat " in full satisfaction for ground broken up, or any other title or claime." Wanimenatoni, with the symbol of a snake, inasmuch as he had received previous payments, releases the same claims for five fathoms without any coat. Then it seems that the princely word of Canonicus and of Miantonomo, to free the land of the actual inhabitants for ten coats and twenty hoes, did not hold out. For although Miantonomo had received in May an additional ten fathoms and a fine coat for his pains, he acknowledges, May 22, 1639, the receipt of twenty-three coats instead of the ten contracted for, thirteen hoes instead of the original twenty to be distributed. These transfers complete the transfer of the fair island of Rhode Island. Theorists, who mourn for the degeneracy of these later times,—in that the capitalist few get much and the laboring many get little,—and sigh for a return to primitive nature, may take heart as they study these facts. These princely native landowners seem to have given little to actual cultivators and occupants, and to have grasped seigniorage and brokerage with equal greed.

In these negotiations, which in fact were complicated commercial transactions, we see the constant office of wampum in making the exchanges.¹ Besides the hoes to be used by the squaws in raising corn, and the coats to be worn by the lordly braves, there were fathoms of wampum to all the chiefs, varying according to their rank. The sellers conveyed territory and homes, gaining in return articles of use and fashion, with an article serving as money, "coyne, monéash, from the English money," according to Roger Williams.¹ We must study this wampum in considerable detail, and work out its history for a half century, in order that we may comprehend the first economical development of New England.

Wampum, or *wompam*, according to Trumbull, was the name of the white beads made from stems or inner whorls of the *Pyrula, carica* or *caniculata*, so common on all the south coast of New England. Later naturalists have named these shells *Busycon, carica* or *caniculatum*; and, again, *Fulgur carica* and *Sycotypus caniculatus*.² When strung they were called *wampon* or *wampom*, — *peage* or *peake* or *peg*, equivalent to "strings of white beads," for *peage* means "strung beads." Color was the basis of the nomenclature as well as of the difference in value. *Wompi* was white; *sacki* was black; *suckaúhock* was the black beads made from the dark part of the poquaúhock, the common quahog, *Venus's mercenaria*, or round clamshell. The value of the black was generally twice that of the white. The white was dyed sometimes to counterfeit black. The original use of the words is not altogether clear; some contend that there was no generic word among the Indians signifying beads. The word generally used among the Dutch, who led in introducing

¹ *R. I. H. C.*, i. 1827; *Key*, p. 128.

² H. W. Haynes, Esq., informs me that these shells are not found north of Cape Cod. In investigating shell-heaps on the coast of Maine, he has never found wampum.

the bead money of the Indians, was *Sewan* or *Zee wand*. This was more general in its application than wampum. But whatever the difficult Indian linguistic process may have been, the New England men soon settled on wampum and peage as the working names for this currency.

The shell cylinders, black or white, were about one eighth of an inch in diameter and one quarter long. There were shorter beads used for ornaments, but there is hardly any trace of them in the currency. To bore these with a stone drill was the work of a deft artisan, who must then polish them on stones in a weary ^{How manufactured.} round of labor, for all accounts agree that the finished product had a certain elegance of its own. Roger Williams gives a good number of words and phrases which describe the manufacture, enumeration, and exchange of wampum. *Natouwompitees*¹ quite trippingly "makes money or coyne;" another guttural signifies to "bore through," which term, before the English came, represented the passage of a drill of flint or other stone. Afterward the unpronounceable *Puckwhegonnautick*, "the awl-blade sticks," shows the contact of the civilised tool with barbarian manufacture.² It would interest us to know absolutely whether this work was done by the braves or the squaws. The beads were often used to pay the warriors for their services. Obedience was uncertain when an Indian sachem gave a command, and he reinforced his authority by gifts. Canonicus³ says of wampum, "his wars keep him bare," and he says directly that he has paid his soldiers in this money, as the colonists rewarded theirs. Roger Williams never mentions the women in connection with this work, as he does in describing those Indian operations which were carried on by the

¹ R. Wms., *Key*, p. 131.

² For further details see notes *J. Hopkins U. Studies*, 2d series, viii. ix. pp. 9-11.

³ R. Wms. to Gov. Vane, *Nar. Club*, vi. pp. 26, 58.

women exclusively. The product was so highly prized, and became so dignified by its use in adorning the highest Indian personages, that we may reasonably imagine the braves themselves lending their proud and doughty hands to the bringing of these works of art out of Neptune's raw material. *Natouwómpitea*, another inflection of the word I have cited, denotes a "coynor or minter." While it is probable that Williams carried the figure of coinage and the analogy of the mint too far in rendering Narragansett sounds into English words, it is certain that the office or duty he describes had weight and importance among the natives. Any one made the beads at will; there was no seigniorage, nothing like our meaning of minting and coinage. But the terms, Williams adopts to convey his notions of this business of making money, show that it was not a mere menial labor like the squaws' planting of corn or dressing of game.

This dignified office of the beads will appear more plainly as we consider them in belts. The Indians strung them on fibres of hemp, or on tendons taken from their forest meat. These strings were hung about the necks and wrists of the warriors, and adorned their wives and children, too. This love of finery and crude display was and is deep in the nature of simple men and women. Wood's striking picture is good for all time. "A Sagamore with a humbird in his ear for a pendant, a black eagle in his occiput for a plume, a good store of *wampum-peage* begirding his loins, his bow in his hand, his quiver at his back, with six naked spatter lashes at his heels for his guard, thinks he is one with King Charles."¹

Dignity of
wampum.

They placed the beads under their heads when they slept. The strings of peage were embroidered on strips of deerskin, making the *Máchequoce*, a girdle or belt "of five inches thicknesse"² or more, and to the value of ten

¹ *New Eng. Prospect*, p. 66, 1634.

² R. Wms., *Key*, p. 52.

pounds sterling or more, which was worn about the waist, or thrown over the shoulders like a scarf. More than ten thousand beads were wrought into a single belt four or five inches wide. These belts were in common use, like the jewelry of our day. They also played the same symbolic part which survives in the crown jewels and other regalia of civilised nations. The kingly office betokened personal prowess and power, whether the incumbent was of Algonquin or of Aryan lineage. When a superior sachem — the king of later and higher political development — took his seat, he must bear with him the evidences of power, and the symbols of the love of his toiling subjects. The greater cross made the greater crown, and each member of the tribe felt himself exalted by the emblems of dignity which his chieftain proudly bore in the rude assemblies of the aboriginal time. There must be wampum of the best kind and in abundance, just as the Czar at Moscow must have a gorgeous surrounding at his coronation. When Governor Winslow sent the spoils of Philip the Wampanoag to the king of England, he described them as "being his Crowne, his Gorge, and two Belts of their own making of their goulde and silver."

It was not gold or coin, but the governor defined it correctly as "their goulde." This quality gave it one of the strong attributes of a currency in the growing intercourse with the colonists. It was this quality, this rarity and costliness, which impressed the barbaric imagination, and made the wampum a high symbol in every ceremony, political or religious. Whenever the Indians made an important statement in their frequent negotiations, they presented a belt to prove it, to give force to their words. "The hatchet fixed in the head," — one of the most forcible of their many figures, expressing a sense of wrong, a legitimate grievance, — this hatchet must be removed by something more powerful than words.

Symbolic
use.

A belt was given to discharge the grievance, and not by mere purchase. The value of the beads could hardly have been of consequence to a haughty confederacy like the Iroquois or Five Nations. It marked the gravity of the apology. It gave to the words the weight of hard physical facts, and made the expression of great force and significance.

The philologists call this literary office, this symbolic function of wampum, an elementary mnemonic record. The same was fulfilled by the knotted strings or *quipu* of the ancient Peruvians, which were buried in their graves. It is an ideogram in the bud ; the expression of an idea by association to a mind which has not conceived those abstractions we express through writing. "This belt preserves my words," was a common remark of the Iroquois chief in council. It conveyed the words, giving warrant and sanction to the first communication, then preserved the facts by this symbolic association. The Iroquois were a mighty nation, almost an incipient state. Their only records were in these mnemonic beads. To preserve them was a solemn office ; and in important councils the wampum-keepers walked through the serried ranks of councillors reading from the belts those facts suggested to their memory. These facts had been "talked into" the beads literally. A mystic power animated the beads thus quickened by the acts and deeds of this simple but intense savage life.¹ The summons to war was in red or black, while peace messages were in the gentler white. When a communication excited anger, men kicked the belt about in contempt ; and a black belt accompanied words of condolence, becoming a sad token of mourning and sympathy. Wampum had a certain dignity, which its usefulness, its exchangeable value, and ceremonial observance had engrafted upon it. It was a jewel first used for personal

¹ Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 139, 142 ; Parkman, *Jesuits in N. A.*, p. xxxi.

adornment ; then it became an emblem, significant and powerful in all the phases of native life. They counted and cast it by a well-developed and convenient system of numerals. By using grains of corn to tally the calculation, they ran up into high numbers quickly and correctly. *Nquittómpscat*, used by both Williams and Eliot, meant one penny's worth of beads. *Ompscat* was probably a span or hand's-breadth. *Puickquat* stood for one fathom, sixty pence, or five shillings.

But the unit of measure and unit of value were seldom the same ; they corresponded, but were not identical. Words corresponding to the English inch, foot, cubit, fathom, etc., were used by the Indians, as they are by most savage races of men. Apparently the unit of measure merged into that of value, as easily as the English pound of the currency changed from weight to value. The measure first used in aboriginal traffic with Europeans was the cubit, from the little finger to the elbow. This word soon ceased, and in the frequent transactions between Indians and colonists in New England, the unit of the fathom occurs often. We are not to forget this was a fluctuating standard of value. A fathom was sixty pence ; accordingly, as the colonies receive beads at four a penny or at six, the fathom will vary from 240 to 260.

Before treating the facts of the trade with Indians through wampum, we must consider the conditions under which the two races lived at first. The native was a producer, not only for himself, but for the colonist. Through his furs he furnished the principal exchange, as will appear, but he produced more by supplying corn and other articles directly to the settlers. Moreover, he labored for the planters, — unsteadily, it is true ; but in the great need of the new plantations, any labor obtainable became a desirable factor. The first contact with the hardy colonists benefited the native.

Units of
measure and
value.

The Indian
an economic
agent.

The natives traded for considerations of all kinds,—wampum, coats, guns, bullets, wares of all sorts. We have seen that land was sold for hoes. According to Governor Bradford,¹ these iron tools, substituted for the wooden or clamshell utensil of the squaws, produced much more corn on an acre, and afforded a surplus for trade. The Narragansetts could sell 500 or 1,000 bushels at a time.

In 1627 De Rasières, with a Dutch trading vessel, came into Plymouth. In her cargo was a lot of wampum valued at £50. He sold it to the Plymouth men in the hope that they might be kept from seeking it from the natives directly. The Dutch had learned the use of this money in the Indian trade. The Plymouth men sent this first lot of beads to their trading post on the Kennebec. It moved slowly until the interior Indians heard of it, and increased the demand. For some years the Plymouth men could hardly furnish enough, and the control of this currency gave them an advantage which virtually excluded the English fishermen and other traders from competing for the trade of the river. Plymouth obtained constant supplies from the shore tribes. In 1634 Winslow could send twenty hogsheads of beaver to England, nearly all of which had come through wampum. Governor Bradford shows that the trade was important.² In 1637 the trade in maize with the Indians up the Connecticut was so important that they recorded an ordinance restricting it.³ In the next year they passed wampum on the river nearly as readily as specie.

The common intercourse between Indian and colonist was more important in an economic sense than we have been led to believe. During the long period between the Pequot and Philip's wars, this peaceful intercourse was broken only by occasional raids on the far-away frontiers.

¹ 4 *Mass. H. C.*, iii. 129.

² *Hist. Plymouth*, p. 356.

³ *Col. Rec. Conn.*, 1637, pp. 11, 18.

The Indian produced, though reluctantly, and the gain of his product went to the better economy of colonial life. While this steady interchange in common things went on, the native furnished one article very necessary to colonial trade, as it was a basis for exchange with Europe. Furs were only second in value to the precious metals. They furnished an equivalent for cash, the great moving force in trade. According to Winthrop,¹ 10,000 beaver-skins came to the Dutch from the Great Lake. Value in use, value in exchange, both enter into the essential qualities of a true currency. Wampum and beaver were closely related in this early trade. The article current, useful, and desirable in itself, must have an essence of exchange, an essential force, which could compel not only that particular exchange, but any exchange at the will of the owner. This exchangeable quality was contributed to wampum by furs, and especially by beaver. The colonist desired Indian corn and venison, but all the world desired beaver. Wampum was the magnet which drew the beaver out of interior forests. The beaver went to Europe, impelling the circle of New World commerce ; but the wampum remained an equivalent value as long as the Indian was a sufficient force, in the rising colonial civilisation, to maintain the circulation. Wampum was thus virtually redeemable in beaver. The European colonist possessed arms and gunpowder, far surpassing the rude aboriginal weapons, and he possessed stores of strange goods and wares never imagined in aboriginal life. But he possessed a talisman more potent than any or all of these things. Organised commerce could compel industry, could exact all the spasmodic labor possible to the barbarian.

The unit of the fathom of wampum brought it into correlation with the other currencies used in the colonies. The beads were at first worth more than five shillings a

His furs
afford
exchange.

¹ *History*, i. 113, and *Col. St. Pap. Col.*, 1660, p. 144.

fathom, the price at which they passed current when Williams wrote in 1643.¹ A few years before, the fathom was worth nine or ten shillings. Beaver fell in England, and that reduced the price of wampum in the colonies. This fall probably occurred between 1635 and 1640. In 1630, according to Felt, the colonists failed in regulating the trade price at 6s. per pound. Freed from artificial regulation, it rose to 10s. and 20s. Governor Bradford, in 1634, says coat-beaver was fully 20s., and Belknap puts common at 12s. in New Hampshire the same year. In 1635 Felt makes the price 10s. In 1638 Connecticut colony rates it at 9s. In 1640 the price was 6s. to 8s. in Casco, Me. As long as the natives were active and furs were plenty, there appears to have been no difficulty in passing any quantity of wampum in common with other currencies.

The strong hold upon colonial life secured by the wampum beads shows most clearly in the long course of legislation respecting their currency and relative values. The authorities of Massachusetts Bay fixed the rate in 1637 at six beads for a penny for any sum under 12d.² In the early statutes, only one rate is mentioned. Probably it was understood that the black was included at double the rate fixed for the white. In many of the later laws, the two colors are mentioned in that proportion. The usual difficulty caused by a standard of value fluctuating between different markets was now experienced. Connecticut received wampum for taxes in 1637 at four a penny.³ They tried to bring it to the Massachusetts standard of six in 1640.⁴ On the other hand, the Bay for a time went over to the Connecticut rate in the same year, — four of the white, two of the "bleuse," for a penny,⁵ not above 12d. in a payment. In 1641,⁶ Massachusetts submitted to the inevitable, and

¹ R. W., *Key*, p. 129.

² *Mass. C. R.*, i. 238.

³ *Col. Rec. Conn.*, 1637, p. 12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁵ *Mass. C. R.*, i. 302.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 329.

made the shell beads a full legal tender at six a penny in sums of £10 or less. Evidently the proud merchants and capitalists of the Bay had adopted the Indian money, only when the absolute necessity of their community demanded the sanction of law. Stringent necessity forced men like Winthrop and Endicott to receive these barbaric trinkets on a par with solid coin of the old English realm.

The legislators were constantly tinkering at this currency and regulating it. In 1641 the trade in wampum was farmed out by Massachusetts, and one condition obliged the lessees to redeem from Harvard College all accumulations in its treasury under £25.¹ The £10 allowance in tender lasted only two years. In 1643² it was reduced to forty shillings. Doubtless it was found that in Boston, the central market of exchange, shabby debtors availed themselves of the legal privilege to force the Indian currency into transactions where the ordinary and customary usage of trade would not admit it fairly: £10 was a large sum in the every-day transactions of that period. Apparently this change of limit in the legal tender did not affect the current use of this money throughout New England, nor in other districts.

Wampum became an universal currency, exchangeable for merchandise, for labor, for taxes. By 1645³ the inventories of deceased colonists commonly contained items of peage, and frequently there was no other money. The story ran that an old English shilling was picked up in the highway at Flushing, Long Island, in 1647. It was so great a curiosity that it drew public attention, many never having seen a similar coin. Judgments of the courts⁴ were made payable in shell-money. The Dutch in New York had hardly any other effective currency in the smaller sums and it was common in New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

¹ *Mass. C. R.*, i. p. 323.

² *Col. Laws*, p. 154.

³ Felt's *Mdss. Currency*, p. 27.

⁴ *Col. Rec. Conn.*, 1649, p. 193.

A currency
in universal
use.

When wampum commanded the market and was most available, much trouble was occasioned by the introduction of bad, counterfeit, and ill-made beads. The Indian—always a cautious and astute trader—knew the article best, and he would refuse any but regular specimens. This compelled the colonists to struggle with the inferior portions which had no value for them except as a medium of exchange. Massachusetts ordered in 1648 that it “shall be intire, without breaches, both the white and the black without deforming spotts.”¹ And the colony now instituted a process more like coinage than anything which Williams found among the Indians, and described in the familiar terms of the mint. It was enacted that the beads should be properly strung into eight known parcels : 1d., 3d., 12d. in white ; 2d., 6d., 2s. 6d., and 10s. in black.² This made a complete series of “change,” equivalent to small coin. This action was in consequence of President Dunster’s suggestion, who had called the attention of the Commissioners of the United Colonies in the same year to the matter of bad, false, and unfinished peage, recommending the General Courts to remedy it. Connecticut ordered it to be strung and regulated in 1649.³ The loose and imperfect beads, driven from New England, went west, and passed at a slight discount in New Netherlands, aggravating the difficulties already existing there.

We must now trace the decline of the Indian money Decline of wampum. from this strong and assured position. In 1644 the Indian trade was at its height in New England, if we may judge from the action of the United Colonies.⁴ The commissioners then endeavored in vain to create a large corporation of shareholders, with ample funds and numerous agents, to work this traffic by systematic methods. The Bay and Connecticut agreed to the

¹ *M. C. R.*, iii. 146.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 261.

³ *Col. Rec. Conn.*, 1649, p. 546.

⁴ *Winthrop, Hist. N. E.*, ii. 160.

proposition, but the corporation was never formed. As we have seen, Massachusetts made the beads a full legal tender in 1641. In 1643 the receipt for taxes was forbidden.¹ Apparently this statute was not effective, for in 1649 it is enacted that wampum is forbidden "to country rate." And in the same year it is ordained, "it shall remayne passable from man to man."² When the state puzzles over a rickety currency, a common expedient is to pass it out, and then refuse to pass it in. We cannot ascertain certainly whether the fluctuations in the value of the beads or the rating per penny noted in the statutes were occasioned by an over-supply of the article, or by other causes. Probably many causes combined to change the faith of the merchants in this barbaric medium. During our civil war, the legal-tender notes of the United States fluctuated violently in their gold value; the changes were often illogical, and the substantial causes were hard to trace. I think it is clear that, as the colonist increased, the native had less relative power in maintaining his own money. No currency can maintain its functions unless it is sustained by some community or portion of a community, which believes in its value, and has sufficient ability to uphold the conviction. The colonists would have received the beads as readily in 1660 as in 1640 if the same facility of redemption in beaver had existed, if its final value had been assured, for its continued use as an accessory currency shows that it was convenient and desirable. Labor had become better organised; corn was more abundant among the colonists; furs were more remote and inaccessible. As early as 1645, Johnson³ declares the beaver trade outgrown at the frontier post of Springfield. The poor Indian had become a worse savage and not a better civilized man;

¹ *Col. Laws*, p. 154, Whitmore's reprint.

² *M. C. R.*, ii. 167, 279; iii. 153.

³ *Wonder-Working Providence*, p. 199.

above all, the improving civilisation of the colonies had outgrown him. It had left him like a fish in the tide falling on the strand. There is not water enough to help him to swim ; there is enough to keep him gasping for life.

About the middle of the century the circulation dragged, and by 1661 and 1662 the colonies had ceased to receive wampum as a lawful currency. Silver from the West Indies had become abundant in the shipping ports, but this was too useful in remittance to Europe to be allowed to stray into the interior. The beads were in circulation, and had a *quasi* legal foundation, for a long time. Even Massachusetts allowed her treasurer £35 10s. for wampum burned in his house in 1655.¹ Town contracts were made in it as late as 1659.² Connecticut³ made a grant in it in 1666, and Rhode Island recognised it in statutes as late as 1670. The Indian Philip failed in some of his projected arrangements for ammunition, in his great contest, because New England silver would not pass with the French in Canada as readily as wampum or beaver.⁴ New York continued the beads in circulation longer than the regular use prevailed in New England. In 1693 they were recognised in the definite rates of the Brooklyn ferry. They were circulated in the remote districts of New England in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Madame Knight found wampum classed as money on the southern shore of Connecticut in 1704. She notes⁵ definitely that it was current with silver, and was not in the class of "country pay," which included produce. While the beads were sliding down in the scale of currencies, there was much trouble in fixing values for payment in

¹ Felt's *Mass. Currency*, p. 37.

² Bliss, *Rehoboth*, p. 48.

³ *Col. Rec. Conn.*, 1666, p. 52; *Col. Rec. R. I.*, i. 308, 400, 412; and ii. 297.

⁴ R. Williams to Gov. Leverett, *Nar. Cl.*, vi. 382.

⁵ *Journey*, ed. 1865, p. 56.

the tributes exacted by the colonists from the Indians.¹ During this process they changed back and forth, from the unit of value by pennies to the unit of measure by fathom.

The use and disuse of wampum, as stated, shows several important phases of colonial life. We may note especially :—

(1.) There was an intimate intercourse of white and red men during the first half century, which largely increased the resources of the new plantations. Political economy of wampum.

(2.) The growing wealth and traffic of these settlements, forced to use the aboriginal currency in their infancy, were constantly tending to throw off the beads, and to substitute the more current and universal silver which flowed in from the increasing West India trade about the middle of the century. The standard, even after it was regulated by law, was always fluctuating. Probably the colonists never fully believed in the permanent value of the beads, and kept them in as small amounts and as briefly as possible. They circulated literally. When the ordinary currency of the United States was not as good as it is now, I heard an innkeeper remark that he never scrutinised the bank bills offered by his customers too closely. But "we put the doubtful ones on the top of the layer in our till; at the end of the season we never have any bad money on hand." The ethics of this practice may be matter for argument, but there is no doubt that it stimulates trade.

(3.) After the commercial, industrial, or purely economic element in the life of the two races had worked itself out, there was little wholesome or prosperous intercourse between them. The social and political contacts of white and red men all ended in failure.

The little shell-bead is the symbol of the rise and fall

¹ See *J. Hopkins U. Studies*, 2d series, viii., ix. p. 27.

of aboriginal-colonial life in New England. In trade the two races took the wampum and trod along paths familiar to both. Individual man met his neighbor, prompted by a common universal passion. Not for mere gain do men strive so hard and endure so much in the intercourse of trade. Common desires draw men together in a commerce of love ; gold or wampum is a symbol of that love, which if not altogether pure is peaceable, and is, on the whole, healthful. This kind of intercourse can serve only between man and man. When communities meet, systems clash. When the system of the barbarian encounters the system resulting from centuries of civilisation, the issue is inevitable. The barbarian reels under the shock ; his system crumbles into dust, which feeds the growth of higher and stronger races.

CHAPTER III.

FORMATION OF THE COMMUNITY.

1630–1640.

THE economic development of the New England towns is a study of the deepest interest. Much investigation, learning, and thought have been expended in this direction, but the interest is in no wise exhausted. Some observers have conceived this system of civic organisation to be in the meeting, or Puritan congregation, — an ecclesiastical unit with political tendencies ; others have found in the town an inspired democracy, animated by religious feeling, and expanding into a state, impelled by a force inhering in the people,¹ — a force which, unfettered by feudal, royal, or ecclesiastical control, asserts itself naturally in that mysterious phrase, “the sovereignty of the people.”

Without entering upon the wide and fascinating field of discussion opened out by these theories of government, I would say that neither of them interprets and explains the New England town, as the facts have occurred.

Politically, it was obliged to assume the functions of government. No magistrate, parson, or governor presided over it. Magistrate and captain appeared alike as freemen ; and the body politic of the town meeting created its own head, and moved to its own work. While it may be said that the town derived its self-governing powers from some other authority, and that these powers were not inherent, yet in fact our

Sporadic
growth of
the town.

¹ Bancroft, *Hist. U. S.*, i. 271.

early towns exerted these functions as of their own right. Before there was any constituted authority — royal or colonial — in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, the towns were exercising all the necessary powers of self-government. We may illustrate this transmission of authority to the early towns, by the relations between a building and its scaffolding. A building cannot be made without a scaffold, but after the walls are up the scaffold is no-part of it.

Mr. Channing¹ has shown that the town of New England,² as a political factor, corresponded to the parish of Virginia; and the same organism varied in the Middle States, partaking of the characteristics of both sections.

<sup>Complete in
N. E.</sup> But New England alone developed this unit of organisation in positive form, and gave it a definite force. Jefferson, describing the time of the embargo in his presidency, said, "I felt the foundation of the government shaken under my feet by the New England townships." And in commanding warmly the division of a town or "ward" he alluded to "our Eastern States," and "the momentum it (*i. e.* the town) gives them as a nation." We should say now, a "nation" within a nation, since the overwhelming force of the civil war fused all local districts into one inclusive nationality.

This was the political manifestation of the town. It was affected by one kind of aristocracy in Virginia, by another in Massachusetts and Connecticut. It was modified by different ecclesiastical systems in these colonies, and by far different systems in Pennsylvania and Maryland, and by an ecclesiasticism without system in Rhode Island. The New England patent³ opened the country,

¹ "Town and County Govt.," *J. Hopkins U. Studies*, ii. 437. And see W. F. Allen on "Town and Parish," *Wisconsin Academy Transactions*, vii. pp. 144, 147, 149, 153, 154.

² See Howard, *Local Const. Hist.*, i. chap. ii., for a detailed account of the town.

³ *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.*, 1574-1660, p. xxi.

as its institutions gave the leading features to all the northern provinces.

Yet all these colonies moved toward that form of representative government called a republic. They were under English control, but were always tending toward independence. They finally conquered imperial France without and royal England within, moulding these varied societies into a nation and a commonwealth, which grew into an imperial republic.

While life manifests itself in individual men and women, and the characteristics of these units are concentrated in great types,—in heroes and ^{Growth of} society. heroines,—there is always a social background, a historic continuity of form and color, for both the group and the type. The power of moulding tribe, nation, or state into a new order of civilised humanity centred in these few types. But no great man or woman springs, ready armed, from the fount of historic being. Slowly and deliberately the forming genius of nations develops her bulbs beneath the social soil, brooding over them as the generations come and go ; then, suddenly, she brings them into actual life in human and concrete forms.

There was in every body of emigrants from the old world a communal germ, a society in the bud : if it matured well, the colony succeeded ; if it grew ^{Germinated} in Europe. awry, the colony failed. This communal life developed according to its hereditary tendencies, and even more according to the local conditions of its new home ; when developed, it made the institutions on which the American republic rests. The communal principle of New England differed from that of other districts for various reasons. These differences have affected the New England community from the beginning, in its form and in its results. This community has been treated in its political manifestations, and in its ecclesiastical bearings, but not sufficiently in its purely social aspect, in that final essence of

society which includes both politics and religion. This social tendency formed our community, and in every-day life its manifestation was economic.

Great men have thought¹ that if the immigrants had adopted the liberty of conscience now so easy, they would have fallen into anarchy ; that non-toleration gave them homogeneity and independent churches ; that in this process they sloughed off court favorites and prelacy.

The most common and positive desire of the fathers of New England was not to worship in a particular way, nor

Not to govern or to worship, but to live. to establish a particular form of government, but it was to live. It is true that the greater persons among them left England to avoid ecclesiastical tyranny and persecution, but when they touched the new soil the whole problem of society, religion, government, was before them, and it forced them to solve it. They were obliged to solve it in the whole, and not in the particular parts, which some of the more narrow Puritans would have exalted above the whole. They were intensely practical in applying their theories of Providence and Divine control, to the immediate business in hand.

This social tendency, deeper than their politics and deeper than their religion, this inevitable necessity binding the settlers together, issued in a better regulated community than the world had ever seen. The settlers instituted well-ordered methods to possess and enjoy property ; as far as possible, they carried the system of household and family into the religious meeting and into the town meeting. They would govern the state under the king's authority, but with power of the same kind as put forth by fathers of families and by Jewish patriarchs in administering small communities. They were jealous of a landed aristocracy, but the rule of minister and pastor, of elder and magistrate, was as firm as that of a feudal baron.

¹ See *Mem. Hist. Bos.*, i. 127.

Nor was this a simple assertion of individual independence. In these early communities, there was much more mutual dependence than individual liberty. The ideal cherished by the men of the middle of the seventeenth century,¹ and which worked itself out a century and a half later, was not to live independent of all authority, but to become a freeman whose free will and action should be subordinated to the public good. These early settlers were patriotic when assembled together in town meeting, and yet more patriotic when they levied fines on those who did not attend. They built the rough meeting-house and met there devoutly, but they tugged hard at the cod-lines on the seas, and labored manfully to saw pipe-staves on the land. So, in later days, it was the economic resistance of the New Englander to Grenville's taxes, and not any absolute rebellion against the authority of King George, which marshalled the American freemen on Bunker Hill.

Economy the basis of their politics.

A society working in this manner, carrying in its own bosom the seeds of order, good government, and thrift, must speedily develop on new soil. This sort of modulated government, by which every man, ^{Individuals possess it.} high or low, should give to and receive from the community, had existed in the fancied Utopias of a few thinkers, but not in actual fact. Feudal land grants, systems of benefice and commendation working through classified persons, had been the favorite methods for settling new territories. These were tried here in the Gorges and Mason, the Say and Brook tracts, etc., and they failed. New England was made, not by lordships, but by parceling the land so that a communal social interest and an individual, personal proprietorship could work together in constant harmony. The old ideal of society concentrating itself in the divine mission of the king, an inspired authority emanating from the crown, had not the

¹ Winthrop, *Jour.*, ii. 229.

creative governmental force of this diffused common weal. This common feeling made every man of substance a part of the government, a factor in the social issue of every governmental effort. Freemen and citizens, rooted by proprietorship in the soil, absorbed an Antæus force, which the old European communities had lost, by transmission through the rusty and broken links of feudal despotism.

The Council for New England, when planning enterprises to settle the New World after the old methods, comprehended fully that communities must have a definite ground-work in the organised parties going out from England. This idea came down from the Romans. Accordingly we find the Council in 1623¹ proposing the settlement of "a strength" in New England.
^{"A strength" for emigration.} They estimated "two hundred men at a charge of 4,000*l.* necessary, of three sorts, viz., gentlemen to bear arms and attend upon the Governor, handcraftsmen of all sorts, and husbandmen for tilling the ground. All patentees to lend 100*l.* each, or more, upon security of the new ship." This was the wisdom of the old time. The actual expedition to Massachusetts Bay, bringing the muscular fibre and arterial blood which, animated by the peculiar nerve-force of Plymouth, finally made New England, was "a strength" indeed, but it was ordered differently. It drew its successful powers, not from gentlemen bearing arms and waiting on the governor, but from masterful men directing enterprises and pushing economic pursuits.² After they had secured

¹ *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.*, 1574–1660, p. 36.

² "In 1635, of the ninety-one grantees of Newbury, two were clergymen, eight were 'gentlemen,' two or three had been bred as merchants, one maltster, one physician, one schoolmaster, one sea captain, one mate of a ship, one dyer, one glover, three or four tanners, seven or eight shoemakers, two wheelwrights, two blacksmiths, two 'linnen weavers,' two weavers, one cooper, one saddler, one sawyer, and two or three carpenters. Of the remainder, only a few are styled yeomen." — Coffin, *Newbury*, p. 368.

some substance,—occupied land, planted corn, caught codfish, sawed lumber,—then they bore arms to defend these goods, with only an infinitesimal degree of waiting on the governor. John Winthrop, gentleman, when not engaged in high official duty, put his hand to any labor, like a tiller of the ground.

Land — that part of the earth shared among men — is the firm shore, the coast on which social seas and waves of emigration rest themselves, to plant the solid institutions of history. It was the admirable economic land tenure which shaped the early towns ; without this, even their religious and political system might not have established their distinctive system of living. Even the earliest settlements, like Plymouth, Salem, and Dorchester, reflected the power of “a strength,” diffusing itself, and lifting the least members of the free-hold ; but the process was developed and better defined in Dedham, Woburn, and the class of secondary settlements. These completed towns combined the experience of the Old World, with the rare opportunity of the New. The liberty of the individual man was enshrined in the home-stead, but the dependence of the enlightened citizen was incorporated in a body of duties and privileges that the world will never cease to admire.

Let us take Woburn as an example of this process of settling a community. Dedham was earlier ; but if we turn to Johnson’s “ Wonder-Working Providence,”¹ we shall find the contemporary view of the matter. In 1641 the General Court granted a tract of land to Charlestown, and the town delegated its powers to seven persons. These laid out the village in the best order to attain two objects : first, the tillage and culture of the soil ; second, the maintenance of “ civil and religious society.” Accordingly the grantees receiving lots nearest the “ place for Sabbath assembly ” had smaller

The com-
munity de-
pends on
land.

Settling a
town.

¹ Page 176.

home lots, and larger tracts on the outskirts to be improved in agriculture. The division was not based upon wealth altogether. They elected, as it were, certain men and families, whom they considered worthy, to church membership, and upon these fell the responsibilities of citizenship. They "refused not men for their poverty," but in some cases helped them to build houses. "The poorest had six or seven acres of medow, and twenty-five of Upland, or thereabouts." Thus was the town populated to about the number of sixty farms, "and after this manner are the Towns of New England populated."

At New Haven¹ Theophilus Eaton had 963 acres, with land rates assessed at £10 13s. 0d., while John Brackett had 25 acres with £2 6d. rates.

Observe that this social dependence of the poorer part of the freeholders differs entirely from the communism tried at Plymouth jointly with the company of adventurers, and from the usual communistic experiment at Rowley.² These latter settlers, in 1639, labored in common, and there was no land in severalty, it being owned by the whole company. After about five years' trial, this form of proprietorship was abandoned.

In New Haven³ every free planter had land in the neck, in the meadows, and in the upland. Every hundred pounds estate had twenty acres of upland, and every head had two acres and a half.

Lancaster,⁴ Mass., gives lots equally to the rich and poor in 1653, and states the combined economic and benevolent motive of its action very frankly,— "Partly to keep the Towne from scattering to farr, and partly out of Charitie and Respect to men of meaner estate."

In Dedham we see the same process, together with the arrangement of the common or joint tillage field, which becomes a most important factor in our problem. In

¹ Atwater, p. 109.

² *History*, p. 122.

³ Atwater, pp. 104, 107.

⁴ *Records*, p. 29.

1636 the General Court¹ granted land to nineteen persons for a plantation. These admitted associates, who agreed, under the fourth article of the town covenant, to pay all rates, and to observe all ordinances necessary for "the public peace and a loving society." As these new-comers were voted into the society they were assigned lots immediately. Married men had home-lots of twelve acres; if not married, they had eight acres each.²

In 1642³ the proprietors had increased to forty-seven; they agreed that two hundred acres near the village should be made a common tillage field, and that each proprietor's share should be marked out and assigned to him by seven chosen men. Accordingly Major Lusher and the remainder of the committee set off to Mr. Allin, the minister, twenty-three acres; to Elder Hunting and Deacon Chickering, fourteen acres each; to Major Lusher thirteen acres; to the other inhabitants, from one to eight acres each. In 1645 three hundred and seventy-five acres of woodland were divided among the proprietors in a similar manner. In 1656 the proprietors voted not to make any further free grants of common lands to strangers. There were certain tracts devoted to the pasturage of the cattle in common herds, and known as "herd walks." These "herd walks" were then undivided, but were parcelled out in 1659, as will appear. After this date there were distinct meetings, one for the proprietors and another for all the inhabitants. It does not appear in Dedham that these separate bodies clashed in their jurisdiction. The whole evolution was peaceful, but in many places serious disputes grew out of divisions of land,⁴ and between proprietors and non-proprietors.

The advancing towns threw out new communities, and these in turn threw out others. As Charlestown settled

¹ Worthington, *Dedham*, p. 17.

² *Ibid.*, p. 17.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

Woburn, so Dedham colonised Medfield. The undergrant of three hundred acres was made first to Edward Allyne in 1640,¹ and was located in 1649. Major Lusher superintended the business also. In 1650 Dedham transferred to Medfield all rights to the soil and the jurisdiction. In proposing a new settlement on their territory in 1661, Dedham² limited it to such as are "fit to carry on the work of a plantation in church and commonwealth." These are examples of the founding of many towns, which vary slightly in the details. Lynn throws off Nahant in 1657, and there the lots are made equal between the householders, "noe man more than another."

In almost all cases the towns keep the most jealous control over the right of entry into the corporation. Dorchester³ in 1634 enacts that "no man within the Plantation shall sell his house or lott to any man without the Plantation, whome they shall dislike off." Watertown⁴ in 1638 would not allow lots sold except to freemen of the congregation, "it being our real intent to sitt down there close togither."

New Haven⁵ would not allow a stranger to buy or hire without the permission of the Court. At Warwick,⁶ R. I., in 1642, lots must be built upon within six months, or they revert to the town. These were typical of many regulations. They did not mean to allow the ordinary rights of property to interfere with the high domain asserted by the communal body. In 1637 the General Court⁷ very reasonably questions whether towns can restrain particular men from selling their lands or houses, but no action was taken. The custom was so thoroughly established, so essential to the main current of New England life, that it continued to prevail. As in other instances, the old

¹ Worthington, p. 22.

² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

³ *Town Rec.*, p. 8.

⁴ Bond, ii. 996.

⁵ *N. H. Hist. C.*, p. 40.

⁶ Fuller, p. 13.

⁷ *M. C. R.*, i. 201.

common law yielded to a rude equity which permeated and controlled the social atmosphere.

If we look across to Long Island,¹ at Rusdorp, no one "shall ingrosse into his hands 2 home lots, and if any doe contrary, they shall sell one of y^m to such person, as the towne shall approve."

In Hadley,² in 1659, none could own land until after three years' occupation, nor sell it without the approval of the town. John Stubbin alleged in 1640 that Watertown had promised him, seven years before, all the privileges of an inhabitant, "particularly in Disposing of towne lotts."³ Yet, though he had been sent from Watertown twice as a soldier, they would give him no lot. "Some of them say their towne is full & yet I know where ground lyeth undisposed of." In 1640 Boston⁴ voted to admit John Palmer, a carpenter, to be an inhabitant, if he can get a house or land to set a house upon, as it was not proper to allow an inhabitant without a habitation. John Greenland had a similar experience in Charlestown the same year.⁵ In Guilford, Conn., 1639,⁶ an original settler could subscribe not more than £500 toward the purchase fund, then could draw lots of land in proportion to his share of the general purchase and to the number of his family.

Providence did not allow a proprietor to sell his lot to any "but to an Inhabitant," without the consent of the town.⁷

Doubtless both Pilgrims and Puritans sincerely hoped for and worked for "a civil and religious society," to cite Johnson's words, which should be more religious than civic or economic in its methods and in its aspirations. But they could not foresee, nor even comprehend when present, the strong economic pressure which forced these rising communities

Economic principles control religious desires.

¹ Thompson, ii. 99.

² Judd, p. 20.

³ Lechford's *Note Book*, p. 242.

⁴ Snow, *Hist.*, p. 83.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 320.

⁶ *Hist. Guilford*, p. 54.

⁷ Wilson, *Town and City Government of Providence*, p. 40.

into channels of its own and developed them by economic laws. Governor Bradford,¹ as early as 1632, bewails the stern necessity "compelling" the Plymouth men away from the meeting-house and from the close brotherly communion of the village settlement into their "great lots," where larger fields could be plowed and better herds of cattle could be pastured. They grew in their "owtward estats" from these causes; but this he feared "will be ye ruine of New-England, at least of ye churches of God ther, & will provock ye Lord's displeasure against them." The Lord's displeasure in those days meant something quite as positive and effective as we understand now by the working of a physical law. It was not a matter of sentiment to the New England mind of the seventeenth century.

The settlers desired to worship together in sincerity and in truth, but they must live together. While their freedom from the prescription and routine of the Old World gave them immense advantages and new powers in many directions, this very liberty compelled them to move in a certain prescribed course, not less obligatory than the routine they had left. If we turn to Dorchester² in 1633, it is "ordered that for such as have great lotts they shall joyne this yeere in paling, and if they will not then such as are beyond if they will pale are to remove to the last that will pale and he that will not to go without, every one that will pale to give in his name by to-morrow seven night."

Extraordi-
nary com-
munal force.

That is, these fences separated Dorchester from the natural world around. An independent owner, who would not fence against the outward world, both giving and taking the protection of neighboring fields, must move out and must let a better communist approach to seek the friendly enclosure. Again, a particular locality "shall be forthwith enclosed by good sufficient Pale, and whosoever

• ¹ *Hist. Plymouth*, pp. 302, 304. ² *Town Records, Bos. City Doc.*, p. 4.

fayles shall forfeit his said lott."¹ In 1633 they agree to run a double rail fence in the proportion of twenty feet to each cow. The largest owners had four cows and each set eighty feet.

There was much detail in enforcing these wholesome regulations. Fence-viewers were appointed, fines assessed and collected, etc. The New Haven² proprietors fenced together in a similar manner. New London³ in 1651 fenced a common field for planting Indian corn. Norwalk, Ct.,⁴ makes a drain in common in 1654, through "every man's lott in the meadows." Allowance is made to each proprietor for his loss of ground.

The same principle is carried a step farther in a division of the great and little neck at Dorchester⁵ in 1636. The majority, in voices, not in the amount of their acres, can keep cattle or can plant corn, as they may decide. Then the major part are to fence together against the minor part; planters associating in the one and herdsmen joining in the other to make a community within a community.

In 1637 the General Court⁶ formulates into statute these customs, which the towns had been working out in the manner described. In common cornfields, each party must make his own part of the fence or suffer damages. Minute provisions are enforced for ringing swine and for fences between the towns, each town being left to control the proprietors' fences within its own bounds, as we have seen at Dorchester. This order is repealed in 1642⁷ and each man is ordered to secure his own fence; if damage occurs, it is to be assessed on a poor fence, or equally upon the owners of all poor fences. Where the fences are good the owners of cattle breaking through are to pay the consequent damages to the crops.

Particular
legislation
adapted to
communes.

¹ *Town Records, Bos. City Doc.*, pp. 1, 5. ² Atwater, p. 77.

³ Caulkins, p. 75.

⁴ *Norwalk Rec.*, p. 43.

⁵ *Town Records, Bos. City Doc.*, p. 23.

⁶ *Mass. C. R.*, i. 215.

⁷ *Mass. C. R.*, ii. 15.

In 1643¹ acts regulating the common fences are repealed, and the control is given to the selectmen of each town. The reason for this was the bad working of the statutes in actual practice. It is probable that the careful mechanism instituted by townspeople like those of Dorchester, when applied generally by the arbitrary power of the Court, would not fit communities of a more heterogeneous character.

We cannot say that the Court had arrived at this or any definite conclusion, for in 1647² it repeated the act of 1637 enjoining each man to fence his part in a common field. Viewed in a broader light the action of the General Court, in this and other legislation, was at first — like that of the Dorchester town or church meeting — minute and particular, searching into the detail of the life of every citizen. Afterward, by degrees, it found that even the Lord's people could not carry this enormous and complicated legislation into perfected and wholesome practice. It vacillated between patriarchal, familiar control and the simplified general legislation of modern times.

The home lot gave to the freeman his severalty in land,
Severalty
and com-
monage. that fascination of immediate definite ownership which in one and another form of homestead right has played a great part in extending the borders of the United States of America. Commonage, the associate possession of land for tillage and pasture, was almost as effective in our early colonial life. The home lot planted the freeman upon the soil; the common right gave him the idea of intercourse and the sympathetic power of common interests. The system was brought over from England,³ and modified to suit the circumstances of the immigrants. It prevailed in nearly all the towns of New England.

In Salem there were ten common fields,⁴ regulated by

¹ *M. C. R.*, ii. 49.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 195.

³ Adams, *1 J. H. U. Studies*, ix., x. p. 37.

⁴ *J. H. U. Studies*.

the votes of the proprietors; in Dorchester we have seen how the details of administration were worked out. Besides the fence-viewers and hog-reeves, the towns appointed hay-wards. Their duties did not include the care of hay, as the name might indicate. They were wardens of the fences and guardians of the cattle. The chimney-viewer, as in Windsor,¹ Ct., was a primitive fire marshal. Roads ran through the commons, and gates at either end became a matter not only of proprietary but of public concern. "Great" and "little" gates are treated in the statutes very often. They barred some important roads. Hadley² had two gates on the county road to Springfield in 1662.

Generally the common rights vary according to the estates of the proprietors, or to their proportion in the home lands. Not always.³ Boston in 1646 grants to all "who are admitted by the townsmen to be inhabitants"⁴ equal rights of commonage in the town; and in 1655 assigns rights "to the commoners according to their several proportions." Warwick, R. I.,⁵ orders that every acre of meadow shall have its proportion of upland, in 1642. When Lynn settles Nahant in 1657, it is laid out in planting lots, and each householder is to have an equal share. He is to clear his lot of wood in six years or pay a fine; his possession lasts seven years. Then "it is to be laid down for a pasture for the towne."⁶ In the seventh year every one is to sow his lot with English corn, together with a bushel of hayseed to the acre. The pasture, thus improved, reverts to the town for common use. This would seem to be a mixed communal and several sys-

¹ Stiles, p. 59.

² Judd, p. 42.

³ Newbury, granting Captain Paul White half an acre for a dock and warehouse in 1655, "granteth no liberty of freehold or commonage hereby." Coffin, *Newbury*, p. 60.

⁴ *Bos. Town Rec.*, pp. 88, 124.

⁵ Fuller, p. 13.

⁶ Newhall, *Lynn*, p. 240.

tem, but worked in a direction opposite to that taken by the early settlements. When the old Indian fields were open, they could lay out commons at will. Now, the first object was to be rid of the timber, and they gave each proprietor the benefit of the wood for the labor of clearing. Then the advantages derived from the common fields were sufficient to induce the owners of several lots to give them over to common pasture. On the other hand, Lancaster¹ in 1670 orders a committee to divide the common meadow. This process of division continues in different districts until the middle of the eighteenth century.

The regulation of the felling of timber on the commons became a serious task in very many towns. Two motives impelled the town legislators. (1.)

^{Regulating common timber.} There was a genuine dread of wasting and losing the supply of wood under the strong export demand prevailing, and the sacrifice of ship timber to the production of pipe-staves and mere lumber seemed to be unprofitable. (2.) The community feeling led the inhabitants of each plantation to prefer their own before all others. The towns sought both to limit the destruction of timber and to confine the benefit and privilege of what was felled to their own townspeople. We shall find this exclusiveness reaching out in many directions so as to narrow and restrict the privileges of trade.

Cambridge² in 1634 prohibits the sale of boards, clapboards, or frames of houses out of town. Salem³ in 1637 finds that the transportation of similar lumber "hath not only bared our woods, but bereaved also our inhabitants." Rhode Island⁴ condemns timber lying on the ground for a year, making it the property of the town. Exeter,⁵ N. H., in 1640, forbids the felling of oak within half a mile of the centre, except in the planting lots or for fen-

¹ *Records*, p. 83.

² *Paige*, p. 20.

³ *Felt, An.*, ii. 240.

⁴ *R. I. C. R.*, i. 16.

⁵ *Prov. Pap. N. H.*, i. 138.

cing. Endicott¹ writes to Winthrop that Salem has agreed not to cut any "great tumber which is fitt for shipping, planckes or knees, &c., nor any for clapboard within twoe miles of the towne eury, nor to fell any other timber but for their owne private use." He recommends that the General Court should make this the rule for the colony. Haverhill² in 1645 allows each inhabitant to make on the common, within two miles of the village lots, 100 pipe-staves for each acre of his house lot. In 1647³ Springfield voted that "no timber, boards, planks, shingle timber, or pipe staves be carried out of town from the East Side of the River." Ipswich⁴ takes the same course in 1649.

Haverhill⁵ in 1651 grants a sawmill to Isaac Cousins, and the conditions are typical of many cases scattered through the records. He is not to cut timber within three miles of the meeting - house ; beyond that distance the woods are free, on his giving the twelfth hundred of his sawing for the use of the town. The town is to have boards at 3s. per hundred, "merchantable pay," and his privilege is to be exclusive while "going." The privilege is taken away in 1658. Gloucester⁶ in 1653 orders the grantee for twenty-one years, to sell boards to its own inhabitants one shilling per hundred, "better cheap than to strangers," and to receive such pay as was "raised in the towne." Saco and Biddeford⁷ to similar conditions adds, that townsmen shall have the preference in employment at equal prices with strangers. And in another case John Davis must buy provisions at his sawmill "of the townsmen in preference." Reading⁸ in 1652 would allow no felling within three miles of the meeting-house, nor any selling of timber felled beyond, *i. e.* out of town.

¹ 4 M. H. C., vi. 143.

² Chase, p. 59.

³ Judd, *Hadley*, p. 107.

⁴ Felt, p. 98.

⁵ Chase, pp. 75, 83.

⁶ Babson, p. 195.

⁷ Folsom, p. 99.

⁸ Eaton, p. 11.

It was very generally determined that any timber felled should not lie and waste, but should be speedily converted into useful lumber. Hadley¹ votes in 1660 that any one felling "rift" timber shall rive it into bolts, *i. e.* pieces for shingles, laths, etc., pales, rails, clapboards, etc., within six weeks, or any inhabitant may appropriate and cart it away. New London² in 1651 allows no transportation of pipe-staves, clapboards, or shingles without leave of the townspeople.

These privileges and restrictions give us a glimpse of the inner life of these societies. The wood standing upon the commons became a part of the social spirit. Foregoing customs reveal the social spirit. The wood standing upon the commons became a part of the social possessions, and was subjected to the use and service of the dwellers in the villages. There was another custom which drew the townsmen into still closer contact and developed in the highest degree the sense of mutual protection and neighborliness. This was in the universal practice of herding their cattle together.

Cowherd, swineherd, goatherd, and shepherd, each and all served in various towns, caring for the animals of the villagers. By embodying in one "Herding" very characteristic. communal herd the cattle of many owners, the best care was obtained with the least effort. Labor was scarce on the widening estates of the proprietors and in the growing towns. In some cases, as at Cambridge³ the cows were brought into the village twice in twenty-four hours to be milked, and were pastured out day and night.⁴ Generally the cattle were in the home lots at night or in a common cow-house, safe from beasts of prey.

The Cambridge⁵ arrangement is typical of the customs⁶ prevailing in 1635, as well as at later periods. Richard

¹ Judd, p. 108.

² Caulkins, p. 79.

³ Paige, p. 38.

⁴ Judd, *Hadley*, p. 110.

⁵ Paige, p. 38.

⁶ Thompson, *Long Isl.*, ii. 11; Chase, *Haverhill*, p. 79; *Bos. Town Rec.*, pp. 5, 109; Barber, *New Haven*, p. 44; Eaton, *Reading*, p. 14.

Rice was to keep 100 cows for three months, receiving ten pounds in pay. The town gives him two men to help him the first fourteen days, and one man the next seven days. This was during the primary schooling of the herd, and while the cows were learning good manners. Then that the morals of Richard, the "cowkeep," might not deteriorate in this enforced daily duty, he was to be allowed two Sabbaths out of three for worship, the town providing for the herd on those days.¹ He was to pay three pence fine for any night when he failed to bring in all his charge. He could not keep any other cattle without consent of the townsmen.

Always at half an hour after sunrise, and again before sunset, the herdsman went through the village street gathering or dispersing his herd. He signalled by winding his horn, and the owners waited at their home gates to attend the patient kine as they went out and in.

Salem² in 1634 herded in common and kept all sorts of town property. Dorchester³ mentions its keeping of "covies and goates" as early as 1633, and in the next year arranges for four bulls to go constantly "with the drift of milch covies." Different townsmen were to keep these bulls, and individual owners of cows paid twelve pence for each head for the service. The town bull was an important institution, and Windsor,⁴ Conn., in 1653 raised a committee to decide what calves should be kept to maturity for the service of the town.

Boston⁵ in 1646-47 allows four sheep in the common pasture instead of one cow. This proportion was increased afterward in the colony to five, for especial encouragement of the growth of wool. But Dorchester⁶ in 1638, finding the pasturage scant upon the Neck, and that

¹ See, also, Felt, *An. Salem*, i. 278.

² Adams, 1 *J. H. U. Studies*, ix. 58.

³ *Town Rec.*, *Bos. City Doc.*, p. 3. ⁴ Stiles, p. 145.

⁵ *Town Rec.*, p. 89.

⁶ *Dorch. Town Rec.*, p. 33.

"cowkeeping is of necessity," orders off by the last of the second month all sheep and dry cattle excepting those used for draught.

By 1647 the settlements had extended so far and the wild beasts were so little troublesome in the older districts that cattle and horses were abundant on the commons, both with and without keepers. The General Cattle Court¹ notes the increase, and decrees that each marks. town shall mark them with a letter of its own. Many towns having the same letter, various devices were invented and used for many years to distinguish this peripatetic property. The Dutch² in the New Netherlands did not work out this careful system for herding and pasturing their cattle. They allowed them to stray among the unfenced cornfields of the Indians, and the consequent damages involved both parties in serious disputes.

The Talmud recognised the moral responsibility of brutes by classifying damages done by them into wilful acts and comparatively innocent or incidental acts. The Jews made the owner liable in excessive damages, where an animal breaking a fence showed a vicious intent. The burghers of Newbury,³ Mass., give us an instance of the survival of this principle. The owners of cattle declared by the town to be "*unruly* and *excessive different*" from all other cattle, were mulcted in all the damage these erratic brutes might commit upon fence or field. In other towns, where the fences broken in joint fields were weak, these proprietors paid damage from any breaking through; where the same were strong, the cattle owners were mulcted if there was breakage.

Perhaps the most suggestive and interesting process in all this common herding was in the folding of "Herdings,"⁴ by sheep gates.⁵ Lancaster⁵ says that sheep gates. a night pasture fenced to keep out wolves is

¹ *M. C. R.*, ii. 190.

² O'Callaghan, *New Neth.*, p. 418.

³ Coffin, p. 40.

⁴ Judd, *Hadley*, p. 110.

⁵ Nourse, *Rec.*, pp. 20, 21.

mentioned about 1652 as "that fence sett up by the co-partners." Rowley in 1643 defines the right to sheep-gates, *i. e.* lengths of fence to be set up in these night folds, in a minute and very curious way. "To the end that every man may have an equal share in the commons according to purchase, it is agreed that every 1½ acre house lot shall have 1½ gates (in the common pastures); that every 2 acres have 4½ gates; 3 acres have 13½ do.; 4 acres have 22 do.; 6 acres have 45 do."¹ These sheep-gates, this carrying the home protection of the farm out into the public common for the benefit of the weakest animal ministering to man's wants, fitly symbolises the spirit of the New England commonwealth. The old Aryan custom of herding, handed down through many countries and long periods of time, brought to the new continent the social order and fellowship of the Teutonic races. It was a social compact which extended itself into these small doings of daily life. It grew out of the spirit which makes not common property, but common things, render their best fruits to family life, and works individuals together, imparting each other's life toward the common weal. The affair seems easy now, after two centuries and a half of practice in town life. But when this forward step was taken by the fathers of the little New England commonwealths, it went into a domain as strange to civilised man as the pastures were strange to the flocks brought over from Europe.

This land tenure united the benefits of personal holding in fee to common and interdependent use and enjoyment, while it affected every relation of our colonists. It freed man and woman by loosening the bonds of service prevailing under the old European land tenure; and at the same time bound every citizen by a closer mutual dependence. The old forms of fief and commendation were enlarged and fitted to a broader

old
Teutonic
custom
made new.

Wide conse-
quences of
our land
tenure.

¹ *Hist. Rowley*, i. 138.

conception of the state and of the communities underlying the state. This elevation of individual citizens, the components parts of society, was promoted and extended almost as much by the church administration as by the state. The popular form of church — the Congregational meeting — fostered the same civic development which the home lot, the common right, and the freeman's ballot carried into the direct political action of the town.

The Plymouth Pilgrims, "having undertaken for ye glorie of God and advancemente of y^e Christian faith, and honour of our King & countrie, a voyage to plant ye first colonie,"¹ etc., in their famous compact, linked their civil government to a church of the simplest and most independent form. But the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay, says Winthrop,² "of the congregation kept a fast, and chose Mr. Wilson our teacher, and Mr. Nowell an elder, and Mr. Gager and Mr. Aspinwall, deacons. We used imposition of hands, but with this protestation by all, that it was only a sign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce his ministry he received in England."

These wanderers clung to the thin cord which held them to the old order of things, in making their religious organisation. They kept fondly this attenuated connection with the Church of England, hoping to found a renewed and purified church in the new colonial England, according to their cherished ideal.

This form of church administration — "the meeting" — was in the fullest accord with the magistrates and the civil government. The ministers appear at every important crisis³ in civil affairs, and compel respect for their views in shaping the policy of the General Court. The support of the ministers, at first voluntary, became a regular item of civic expense ; they were generally chosen in open town meeting.

The religious "meeting" corresponds with the Town.

¹ Bradford, *Hist.*, p. 90.

² Winthrop, i. 13.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

Taxes were levied for the support of religion, and attendance on worship was compulsory. The franchise depended on connection with the church in Massachusetts and Connecticut.¹ Likewise, the Massachusetts General Court² controlled the formation of churches.

The "teaching" elders were pastors, and the subordinate "ruling" elders were administrators, whose duties finally assimilated to those of the deacons. There was no creed strictly considered; the covenant—the coming together—of the members was the common bond of fellowship. No church ever had a stronger practical control over its constituent parts than this of the seventeenth century. Yet such was its jealousy of ritual, liturgy, and priest, that the Bible could not be read at any public service, and marriage must be performed by a civil magistrate and not by the pastor. A sermon could not be uttered at a wedding, but these careful casuists listened to exhortations.

The influence of this church organisation in the affairs of the community can hardly be overestimated. Unquestionably the constant and restless action³ of the ecclesiastical powers narrowed the life of the people, but it deepened it and increased its force. In 1635 John Haynes the governor, with the ministers, declared that Winthrop's administration had been too lenient. After considerable discussion Winthrop was forced to acknowledge this and to promise "to take a more strict course hereafter."⁴ There resulted from these interviews and discussions, prompted mainly

The "meeting" a profound influence.

¹ Atwater, *New Haven*, p. 156. While the suffrage in Connecticut was not absolutely restricted to church members, the result was practically the same. The same conditions of voting were applied "to the meeting" as to the town meeting. See Johnston's *Conn.*, pp. 60, 75, 224.

² *M. C. R.*, i. 142, 143, 168.

³ Winthrop, i. 178 (note), by Savage.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 178.

by the ministers, sixteen articles, which were instituted for the guidance of the General Court. The attitude of the public mind toward civil government is shown in one of these articles. "That the magistrates should (as far as might be) ripen their consultations beforehand, that their vote in public might bear (as the voice of God)."¹

This practical, wholesome, reasonable religion, thus adapting itself to the business of the state, or caring for ^{Religion and} the nurture of the family, descended at times ^{Satan.} into puerile and petty superstition. The instances recorded by all the early annalists are numerous. The wise Winthrop, especially, becomes childlike, when he approaches prodigies. He relates with exceeding gravity that, in a synod at Cambridge, a snake came through the open door and wriggled about among the crowded assembly. Many dodged, but Mr. Thompson, one of the elders, "a man of much faith," set his foot and staff down and killed it. "This being so remarkable, and nothing falling out but by divine providence, it is out of doubt, the Lord discovered somewhat of his mind in it. The serpent is the devil; the synod, the representative of the churches of Christ in New England. The devil had formerly and lately attempted their disturbance and dissolution; but their faith in the seed of the woman overcame him and crushed his head."²

If their philosophy was of this kind, their poetic sentiment was not less extravagant. They wrote few verses, but they made some extraordinary poetical prose in their sermons and other religious exercises. "The holy-heavenly, sweet-affecting and soul-ravishing" Thomas Shepard was minister at Cambridge in 1649, and his death was much lamented. But how can we enter into the mental atmosphere of a company of the gravest people, who could express their grief after this fashion? "Now New England that had such heaps upon heaps of the riches of

¹ Winthrop, i. 178.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 331.

Christ's tender compassionate mercies, being turned off from his dandling knees began to read their approaching rod in the bend of his brows and frowns of his former favorable countenance toward them,"¹ etc. An admirer of Rev. John Cotton, the great opponent of Roger Williams, says of him : —

“Rocks rent before him, blind received their sight,
Souls levelled to the dunghill stood upright.”

And the “gritty” Charles Chauncy² said : “God stabs the wicked as an enemy with his sword, but lances the godly as a surgeon does his patient with his lancet.”

When the log-house and home lot had given shelter; when the common field, fenced for mutual protection, furnished subsistence; then the meeting-house^{Meeting-houses.} was built to keep open those springs of the better life, which made such domestic order possible. The Court in founding Worcester in 1669 expressed the view of the church which controlled our early colonists. They would have a good minister of God's word placed there as soon as possible, that those planted there “may not live like lambs in a large place.”³

There was an early meeting-house in Boston replaced by a better structure, costing £1,000, in 1640.⁴ The Salem⁵ first church is supposed to have been built in 1634. We have a pretty definite account of that at Dedham built in 1637.⁶ It was thirty-six feet long, twenty feet wide, twelve feet high in the stud; and the roof was

¹ *M. H. C.*, 9, 10.

² *Tyler's Amer. Lit.*, i. 224.

³ *Proprs. Rec. Wor.*, p. 13.

⁴ *Winthrop*, ii. 24.

⁵ 1634. “Salem First Church” supposed.

Page 13. Worshipped in an unfinished building in 1634. In 1638, “bills were paid for daubing and glazing this house.” An addition was voted in 1638, making the house 45x25 ft., one cattied chimney 12 ft. long.

Page 15. Continued to 1660, when second house was built, 60 ft. long, 50 ft. wide, 20 ft. stud, “according to the records.”

⁶ *Worthington, Dedham*, p. 35.

thatched with long grass. After nineteen years, one hundred and sixty families were worshipping there, and it was voted to have it lathed upon the inside "and so daubed and whited over, workmanlike." It was pulled down in 1672 and replaced by a much larger one. In the records the pews are called "pitts,"¹ and were five feet deep and four and one half wide. The elders' seat and the deacons' seat were before the pulpit; the communion table was in front, and so placed that "the communicants could approach it in all directions."

This simplest form of rectangular building has been considered the type² of the early colonial meeting-house. New Haven,³ however, had one of the square type as early as 1639. Its walls were fifty feet each way and it cost £500. Milford later had one forty feet square; these were of wood. Guilford built of stone. The people of this district started with more lofty ideas of architecture than those of the other colonies. In the second period the structure was squared with a pyramidal roof and belfry or tower, whence the bell-rope descended to the centre of the meeting place, where the sexton gravely performed his high office of ringing out a summons to the gathering villagers. Before bells were introduced a first and second drum mustered the worshippers. The church at Hingham built in 1681 brings this style over to our own time.

Around this homely altar clustered the best interests of the community, impelled by a law as imperative as the economic law that drove the Dorchester cattle within the common fences. Attendance on public worship was enforced by law in Massachusetts and Connecticut, but arbitrary statutes were not as effective in bringing the people together as the natural relationship between the meeting-house, the practical activities, and

¹ Worthington, *Dedham*, p. 35.

² Palfrey, ii. 58.

³ Atwater, p. 247.

the various forms of scanty culture prevailing in the seventeenth century. Doctor Porter¹ has traced this connection.

Political action developed here. Probably when the town meeting met, the moderator sat at the very table visited by "communicants from all directions," and there received the ballots which shaped the action and growth of the state. In three series of wars, the soldiers took their inspiration from the same central source. Now, education classified and distributed can elevate the school into a distinct organ and function of the state, but then, the school was only a handmaid of the church. In Worcester² they assigned fifty acres — twenty-five was the share of the smallest proprietors, fifty to seventy-five of the largest — for the property of the minister, and a lot for the meeting-house to be set apart near the centre of the town. Then twenty acres were appropriated for a training place, and for a school-house. Thus closely worship, armed protection, and the light of knowledge beat together in the heart of the infant settlement.

The General Court³ decreed in 1635 that no dwelling should be placed more than half a mile away from the meeting-house in any new plantation. Vicinity was not a mere matter of convenience or of individual choice. In 1661 an Ipswich inhabitant absenting himself with his wife from public worship, the Court empowered the "seven men" to sell his farm, so that he may be compelled to live nearer the sanctuary.

When we consider what music has done for the concord of communities, we must respect the crude attempts at melody which counted for diversion in the stern life of this people. The value of culture ^{Early music.} increases inversely as its quantity. The efforts of the peoples in those sparse districts to sing together had a

¹ *New Englander*, v. 42, p. 316.

² *Propri's Rec.*, p. 16.

³ *M. C. R.*, i. 157, 181.

good influence not to be estimated in any terms of our time. Contrast the vitality of these independent seekers after something beyond their narrow circumstances, with the sluggishness prevailing among rural peoples elsewhere at that period.

We cannot say that every hamlet built its meeting-house at once, but it is certain that very many did. The kind of men and women able to found a community were those who thought most of the meeting. The Dutch noticed the great enterprise of our colonies in building churches as early as 1642.¹

The elders assigned the seats in Dedham,² and gave the greatest tax-payer the best seat. In 1651 Newbury,³

Seating the meeting-house by rigid rules. Mass., notices the "first seating the meeting-house," a custom which we shall see in many instances, and which reflects much light on the peculiar relation of church and people. It is not merely the fact of an orderly arrangement of the congregation which interests us. The arrangement attained by such careful method and regulated with great difficulty went beyond the immediate operations of the meeting-house. This "meeting" was the central life and activity of the neighborhood. The terrors of judgment, the torments of hell, the delights of heaven, shone forth from this severe and simple altar, and held both penitent and impenitent in a weird, fascinating thraldom. In the intervals of religious service, there was always an actual meeting in the *god-sib*, where gossip, social and political, masculine and feminine, ecumenical even, illumined the rugged faces of our forefathers, lighted the dark shadows of their hard life, and sent them home renewed, uplifted, and inflamed with new social desires born of this warm intercourse.

The selectmen or a town committee here and elsewhere⁴ assigned householders particular seats during their lives,

¹ O'Callaghan, *New Neth.*, p. 259. ² Worthington, p. 35.

³ Coffin, *Newbury*, p. 54.

⁴ Caulkins, *N. London*, p. 132.

and they were not to press into seats already full. This was by formal list, and according to the adjudged rank of each. In New Haven¹ no seats were assigned to any below a Goodman or a Goodwife. Young men were to sit in the "four backer seats in the gallery and in the two lower seats at the west door." In 1662 four persons acknowledged formally their trespass on the seats of others, and promised to keep to their own. Reading² in 1657 grants to the young men to build their own gallery between the two great beams on south side, with privilege of selling seats on approval of the town. It is stated positively that there were no pews in Newbury; but other towns had them, and Nantucket voted Mr. Clarke, a magistrate, a seat in the "great pew," which was wainscotted to heighten the dignity of its insulation.

The New England land tenure in fee simple and in common, and the meeting-house with its religious and social culture were absolute factors in forming the citizens who met in town meeting. The social life of the community we have traced entered into the political action of every freeman. The voice of the people was to them the voice of God, in so far as these virtuous citizens found the best expression of the divine will in the chastened and sober resolve of their meeting. The essential force of the meeting was in the character and substance of those who met. These three elements: (1.) Freehold land regulated by the best usage of many centuries; (2.) A meeting expressing the religious and family culture; (3.) A representative democratic gathering corresponding to the old folk-mote,—these three made the town.

Freehold
land,
"meeting,"
and folk-
mote.

Such towns, cells of a social life growing out of religious and political freedom, were not mere aggregations. Such communities, as soon as organised, began to seek their fellows and to lay the rude beginning of a common-

¹ Atwater, p. 375.

² Eaton, p. 15.

wealth. The Governor and Council of Deputies and Assistants, the General Court of Massachusetts Bay, are the central source of power and administration. The question arises, Who shall legislate and how?

Notice of the General Court was sent out in 1634, and
^{The General Court} "the freemen deputed two of each town to meet and consider of such matters as they were to take order in at the same General Court; who, having met, desired a sight of the patent, and, conceiving thereby that all their laws should be made at the general court," etc.¹

Winthrop informs them that the patent or charter contemplated the direct action of all persons interested, each member attending to make laws and orders, whether for government or trade. But the numbers have outgrown the possibility of this immediate action, and they must appoint delegates who can act for the whole body of freemen in the several towns. The delegates met accordingly. Thus a legislature was begun, and a mere company enlarged itself into a commonwealth. It was an almost spontaneous movement guided and directed by Winthrop. Yet the evolution was not as easy as would appear in any statement we might make. Strong theocratic elements underran the civil and political tendencies of the towns thus combining into commonwealths. Cotton preached against any rotation in the office of magistrates. "The voice of the magistrate the voice of God" has been an attractive theory in all ages, but it has always needed the vigilant action of the representative democracy to check this encroaching power. Massachusetts Bay soon felt the evils of too much theocratic concentration of power. The expulsions of Williams with his Providence band, and of Coddington with his Newport Rhode Islanders, were but instances.

Roger Williams founded a government only "for civil things," and finally established it under the authority of

¹ Winthrop, i. 128.

a charter from England. The sagacious Coddington laid down that "the body of freemen orderly assembled" is a sufficient foundation of a state. These were audacious innovations upon the science of government as then understood. Josiah Quincy said that liberty of conscience would have produced anarchy in the seventeenth century, and his opinion is entitled to great respect. Yet, we must not forget that freedom from theocratic and ecclesiastical control did exist in Providence Plantations and in the settlements about Newport. It would be interesting to trace the reflex action of these little Rhode Island democracies on the regulated theocracies of Massachusetts and Connecticut. So great an "experiment" existing in their midst must have entailed positive practical consequences. Theocratic Puritans denied that such communities could be; but there they were, and they grew and prospered.

In 1641 Massachusetts Bay, after much discussion, adopted the famous "Body of Liberties"¹ for "Body of Liberties." on the basis of their law and civil government. In one hundred sections, it lays down the substantial principles securing life, liberty, property, etc., and the methods of civil administration adapted to the time. It was mainly the work of Nathaniel Ward, of Ipswich, a minister, who had studied and practised law also, in the inns and courts at home. It was fully studied and amended in the towns, and was adopted in the most deliberate way.

The Bay legislators showed the same good sense in this matter which directed their formation of the town governments. Considering the immense influence of the clergy, and the prevalent inclination to refer difficult questions to scriptural precedent for solution, it might have been expected that the theocratic element would seek to engross and to control the civil law. And this occurred. "That godly, grave, and judicious

¹ 3 Mass. H. C., viii. 191.

divine, Mr. John Cotton of Boston," drew another code¹ based on Joshua, Jeremiah, etc. It was fairly considered before the adoption of Ward's well digested treatise. The common sense of the common law prevailed over that ecclesiastical fantasy which has led so many peoples into disaster. Connecticut adopted a code,² similar to that of the Bay.

The fathers of New England based these laws and customs on their large experience, then administered them in the spirit of a sacred trust.

The duty of the citizen weighed upon these men. It was not a mere privilege — their partnership in the state — to be taken up and laid down at will. Penalties carefully elaborated forced every one to act, whether freedom. he would or no. Office was given, rather than sought, and then it must be taken, or the delinquent was fined. Sir Richard Saltonstall in 1630³ is fined four bushels of malt for absence from the Court. Either this fine or a new one is remitted in 1638.⁴ The pressure was hard, and many fines were remitted in that session. With all the high public spirit prevailing, the state was not as strong in some respects as in modern times. The official sense of dignity was so punctilious and pragmatical that the magistrates could not bear the slightest criticism. Speaking contemptuously⁵ of rulers was a frequent cause of punishment and fine.

Fines for absence from town meeting⁶ were universal, and apparently they were enforced rigidly. This was not simple formality; it was not the decorum of politics. There was an intense desire to make every one do his part, and do the part delegated to him by the majority.

¹ *Abstract of the Laws of New England*, pub. 1641.

² *Conn. Rec.*, i. 77.

³ *M. C. R.*, i. 77.

⁴ *M. C. R.*, i. 243.

⁵ *Ibid.*, in 1637.

⁶ Coffin, *Newbury*, p. 25; Sewall, *Woburn*, p. 46; *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 307; Thompson, *L. I.*, i. 27; *Prov. Pap. N. H.*, i. 152.

Johnson¹ defines the thing called liberty to be something "sweet to the palate of the flesh." He despises those advocates of it who think they can reach a paradise where all are magistrates and all are preachers of the word, with no hearers. These legislators, whether in their political or ecclesiastical capacity, never conceived any polity which should grant freedom of action in the modern sense. They did not believe such a society to be possible, and they would not have considered it desirable. Freedom and liberty meant the working out of a life soberly restrained according to the will of the majority. This major will was directed divinely, through the medium of the Bible, interpreted by pastors and elders. This was the mind of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Other minded persons might shift for themselves, with Satan's help, if they could obtain it.

The Bay expelled Roger Williams, Coddington, the Hutchinsons, and others because they could not conform, and the spirit of this action manifested itself in many towns. Lancaster² in 1653 voted not to receive into the plantation "any excommunicat or notoriously erring agt the Docktrin & Discipline of churches of this Commonwealth." This was the ecclesiastical method adapted to New England circumstances and the political conditions of citizenship. The economic checks on the franchise were equally severe. They dreaded the approach of a stranger who could not be settled and taxed immediately. To prevent irresponsible persons from gaining foothold in the community and a share in the common goods, without giving an equivalent, was a chief care of their lives. Statutes by the hundred and penalties by the thousand might be cited to show this excessive municipal activity. The General Court³ in 1637 forbids the towns allowing strangers to settle, without the permission of the Council or of two magistrates.

¹ *W. Work. Prov.*, p. 171. ² *Records*, p. 28. ³ *M. C. R.*, i. 196.

^{Towns ex-} Boston¹ enacts, 1636, "Noe Townsmen shall entertaine any strangers into theire houses for above 14 dayes," without leave from the officers of the town. Frequent fines show that it was not a mere paper edict. This regulation was intended to control the citizens in their business and in their religious beliefs as well. In 1645² the merchants petitioned against the law entertaining strangers, and that banishing anabaptists; but the statutes were not repealed. Dorchester³ orders in 1658 that no person shall take any one into his house without consent of the selectmen. This prohibition was pushed until it entailed hardship and distress. A man was fined for not expelling his own married daughter, under the orders of the selectmen.

The guild-merchant and the town-guild survives, and occasionally traces a line on the civic regulations of the towns. They kept the privileges of settlement and franchise well in hand, and managed the privileges of trade⁴ in the same manner. Boston⁵ finds it necessary to record in 1657 that no one shall keep a shop or set up any manufacture unless he be an admitted inhabitant.

If the freemen and elders exerted their communal force ^{Desirable citizens obtained by public effort.} to exclude those who might burden or injure the town, they also exerted it wisely to bring in those who could help them. One of the most interesting features of the early settlements is in the measures taken to secure desirable members for the community, those who could furnish necessary parts of the social mechanism lacking in particular places. Shoemakers appear early in the records. In 1629,⁶ Thomas Beard and Isaac Rickman are recommended "to receive their

¹ *Town Rec., City Doc.*, p. 10.

² *Winthrop*, ii. 250.

³ *Town Rec., Bos. City Doc.*, p. 94.

⁴ *Bos. Town Rec., City Doc.*, pp. 5, 36, 49.

⁵ *Town Rec., City Doc.*, p. 135.

⁶ *Col. Rec., Mass.*, i. 404, 405.

dyett & house roome at the charge of the Companie." Beard had, in the Mayflower of that season, "divers hydes for soles and vpp leathers." He was made a free-man in 1643¹ and settled at Strawberry Bank. This was typical of the course of the immigrating artificer, the useful mechanic, the representative citizen.

Blacksmiths were most in demand, though various arts and professions were obtained by special efforts. In 1635 Lynn² settles John Deacon, and afterwards allots him twenty acres of land. Haverhill³ in 1658 gives a house and land to John Johnson, at a cost of £20, which is raised by subscriptions from twenty persons. He was to follow his trade of blacksmith there for seven years, refusing to work for any non-subscribers. In 1639 Hampton,⁴ N. H., would admit a blacksmith to the privilege of a planter, but he must have a certificate of approval from the Ipswich elders. Whether the approval was of his sound forging in iron, or of the good welding of his opinions, is not stated. The same town admitted a shoemaker in 1654, and another in 1663. In the second instance there were ten adverse votes, thus showing that the privilege was worth disputing. In 1655, Windsor,⁵ Ct., gives a currier a house, land, and "something for a shop, to be to him and his heirs, if he lives and dies with us, and affords us the use of his trade, else he shall leave it to the Town." In 1663 Rehoboth⁶ makes an effort for a midwife to dwell among them, "to answer the town's necessity, which at present is great."

The town, either in meeting or by authority deputed to the selectmen, regulated the action of its citizens according to the prevailing ideas of the community. Not one custom but many indicate that the greatest good to the greatest number was constantly sought after. The stat-

¹ Newhall, *Lynn*, p. 90.

² *Ibid.* p. 153.

³ Chase, p. 88.

⁴ Dow, p. 12.

⁵ Stiles, p. 146.

⁶ Bliss, p. 53.

utes enacted to work out these desires were not generally inventions, but adaptations of old English law and custom, or they were founded on precedents and fancied analogies of the Old Testament.

The impressment of labor for particular service was ^{Compulsory} common. Either the public need¹ or the demands of private business could enforce it. In the harvest time, artificers and mechanics, compelled by the constable,² must leave their crafts, unless they had harvesting of their own, and betake themselves to the fields of their neighbors "needing y^m." They worked for others at regular harvest wages fixed by statute. In principle this enforced service was like military duty,³ but the public need was conceived to be in the precarious standing crops of individual citizens, instead of in the urgency of common defence.

In fact, these two lines of compulsory service were combined most curiously in an instance of Dorchester⁴ legislation in 1637. Any member or housekeeper of that community "chosen to goe for a souldier," might leave the care of any business at home to a friend, who should be paid at soldier's rates. If the conscript was unable to obtain this home worker, then one of four citizens named might "enjoyne who they shall think fitt to worke in this kind for the helpe of need;" this substitute must work or pay a fine.

These details show how thoroughly, in the early colonial days, the town and its selectmen tried to master the life of the citizen. Employees, laborers, and servants were inspected and bound in by legislation at every point. Hardly a session of court and magistrates or a town meeting occurs without some tin-

^{Towns con-}
^{trol life of}
^{citizens.}

¹ *Dorchester T. Rec., Bos. City Doc.*, p. 42.

² *M. C. R.*, ii. 180.

³ Adams, *1 J. H. U. Studies*, ix., x. 45.

⁴ *Town Rec., Bos. City Doc.*, p. 23.

kering of these matters, which modern society has rendered back to individual control.

Vain efforts to control wages were made in Massachusetts Bay, both by the General Court and by the several towns. An important statute was enacted in 1633¹ by the General Court. Master (or as we should say, journeymen) carpenters, sawyers, masons, "clapboarddryvers," bricklayers, tilers, joiners, wheelwrights, mowers, etc., were to receive not more than two shillings per day when "boarding themselves," or fourteen pence per day with "dyett." Inferior workmen in the same occupations were to be rated by a constable and two others. The best laborers had eighteen pence per day, the inferior were rated as above. Master tailors had twelve pence, the inferior eight pence per day with "dyett." All were to work the whole day, time being allowed for "foode and rest." Penalties were prescribed against both giver and receiver of extra wages. There must be no idleness, under penalty, and especial care was devoted to "comon coasters, vnpfittable fowlers, and tobacco takers."

The next year the Court² repeals the clause exacting five shillings fine from those who *pay* wages above the Court rates. When parties disagreed in the rates for work "by the greate," the town was to appoint three men to adjust the same. In 1635 several men were fined for *taking* 2s. 6d. per day, but in September of this year this absurd law was repealed.³ The contrast in treatment of employer and employed, in the attempt to fine one and not the other for the same offence, reflects the notion of the time regarding labor. They firmly believed that the laborer owed more to society than it owed to him.

The countervailing privilege, which lightened and ame-

¹ M. C. R., i. 109.

² Ibid., i. 127.

³ Ibid., i. 153, 159.

liorated this severity towards laborers and those working for hire, was in the abundance of land and the common desire to plant settlers upon it. Servants were excluded formally from the citizen's right to land in some towns, as in Dedham¹ in 1636, but they were admitted regularly in others to all the rights of land-holders. Hadley in 1662 grants three young, single men home lots and a £40 allotment in the meadows to each. "One had been a servant, it is believed that all had."² Johnson says, about 1650, "There are many hundreds of laboring men who had not enough to bring them over, yet now worth scores, and some hundreds of pounds."³

The term "servant" was applied to several kinds of service. It covered farm and house workers, together with persons who came out attending to the business of their principals in England. These were agents, as we should say. Then apprentices and those contracting their labor were called servants. Lechford notes in detail many contracts of apprenticeship, and almost always one contractor is a servant. Contracts brought many over who worked out their passage money in apprenticeship. Elizabeth Evans⁴ comes from County Glamorgan to serve John Wheelewright, minister, for three years, wages £3 per annum and passage paid. Another "did retayne one Servant Ambrose Sutton to serve in the trade of carpentry" for five years.⁵

The towns took exceeding care in making contracts for their young wards, as shown in many instances. Windsor, Ct.,⁶ stipulates for a boy of seven years, bound until his twenty-first year, that his master teach him "to write and read English, and cast accounts, and be at the cost and use his best endeavours to get his seurf head cured. Also to learn him the trade of a cooper, and at the end of

¹ Worthington, p. 33.

² Judd, *Hadley*, p. 33.

³ *W. Work. Prov.*, p. 175.

⁴ Lechford, *Note Book*, p. 107.

⁵ Lechford, *Note Book*, p. 59.

⁶ Stiles, *Windsor*, p. 146.

his time to let him go free and give him double apparel, a musket, sword and bandoliers and 20s."

Margery Batman¹ after five years' service in Charlestown was to receive a she-goat to help her starting in life. Many curious gifts to the apprentices on attaining their majority are recorded. The practice of giving a "freedom suit" to minors and apprentices lasted until quite recent times.

The conditions of service were often rigorous, and the discipline for bad behavior was very severe. Winthrop reports the visitation of Providence ^{Severely disciplined.} in the loss of two of John Moody's men servants. They were on an oyster bank, their boat floated away and the rising tide drowned them. The gentle Eliot's Church Record says, even more positively, it was "a dreadful example of God's displeasure against obstinate servants."² The courts whipped, imprisoned, and fined erring servants. One Maxwell in York³ in 1651 is thus condemned for "exhorbitant and abusive carriages towards his master and mistress." The charges amount to £7 10s., and include his board during imprisonment, paid by his master. If he cannot pay this sum to his master, Mr. Leader, then he may be sold to Virginia, Barbadoes, or any English plantation. Rhode Island⁴ passes an act in 1654 to return servants escaping from other colonies.

They were frequently transferred to other masters. "Vincent Potter gent places and John Johnson places himself unto Daniel Pierce of Watertowne, blacksmith, for nine years for £12. double apparel, and £5."⁵

These transfers and the freeing of servants from their indentures sometimes threw burdens on the towns. Boston⁶ records in 1657 that she is involved in loss thereby,

¹ Lechford, *Note Book*, p. 81.

² Roxbury Rec., *Bos. City Doc.*, p. 78. ³ Maine, *H. C.*, i. 276.

⁴ R. I. C. R., i. 274.

⁵ Lechford, *Note Bk.*, p. 93.

⁶ *Bos. Town Rec.*, p. 142.

"either through idleness or sickness;" notice is given that all must see to the employment of those set at liberty. Boston¹ gives privileges of trade and craft from time to time to apprentices of full service. In 1660² she enacts that, as they set up after three or four years' time, no one shall "open shop or occupy any manufacture or science," until twenty-one years of age, and after seven years of service.

These regulations of prices and wages, of the relations between master and servant, were but parts of ^{Conscience in legislation.} one system of government. The New England men worked and thought under the pressure of an active conscience. They generally believed it possible to carry their own conscience into all affairs, public or private, their own or other people's. This tendency in government, this busy purism, has often checked social development and lowered the proper functions of the state. The solid wisdom of these transplanted English citizens saved them from such one-sided results. It is true that church and state could hardly be separated, in much early colonial action.

In the troubles of the congregation at Salem in 1636, Vane the governor, Winthrop the deputy, and Dudley an active assistant, join in a warrant to the constable. They direct him to "command them from us to refrain all such disordered assemblies and pretended church meetings, and either to confine themselves to the laws and orders of this government, being established according to the rule of God's word. . . . And when you have given them this admonition, you shall diligently attend how it is observed."³

Here the whole civil power was exerted to compel con-
^{Common sense the basis of our} formity to the prevailing religion. Yet we are not to infer hastily that such was the deliberate purpose of these rulers. The limitations of

¹ *Bos. Town Rec.*, p. 137. ² *Ibid.*, p. 156. ³ Winthrop, ii. 343.

church and state were then dimly perceived, and not at all defined. The noteworthy contribution of New England to the world's history is in her steady application of common sense to the problem of living. "A church without a bishop, a state without a king," meant, not that the settled institutions fostered by bishop and king were undone, but that similar institutions were carried on by the effort of the whole people acting in common.

They swept away feudalism, but kept the best features of the old land tenure. They laid the hearth-stone and cherished the family, but enlarged its scope by gathering all families into a simple, genuine "meeting" of all the folk for worship. They followed the Bible for a daily guide, but they tempered this too stringent theocratic code by a gradual development of the old common law. They stimulated democratic enlargement in the folk-mote. They used land and opportunities of settlement to make more and better freemen, but they ballasted the town meeting with a solid aristocracy. In those days, there was little civil law, or medicine, or book learning, outside the clergy. All there was, backed by the influence of property, went to regulate the towns, and to balance any excessive tendencies of the religious element.

The town was not a mere place of abode or a bundle of laws. The people, holding the land, the church, the family, the civil law in their own hands, developed a constant effective polity of common sense, — the very being of the community.

CHAPTER IV.

AGRICULTURE, FISH, AND FURS.

1621-1639.

A FIELD of Indian corn, waving its pollen-bearing spindles in the warm breezes, catching the fertilising night dews in its dark green blades, then hugging the August sun so closely that the leaves curl under his torrid embrace, brings over into temperate New England something of tropical abundance and luxuriance. Few imagine, as they look upon its glossy silk, its plentiful ears, its stalwart thriftiness, how great a debt our fore-fathers and their descendants owe to this child of nature, subdued by the natural sons of the soil, and developed ready to the hand of the incoming Europeans.

In April, says Governor Bradford,¹ the father of America, "they began to plant ther corne, in which servise Squanto stood them in great stead, showing them both y^e maner how to set it, and after how to dress & tend it." The land was not more necessary to the needy colonists in these first stages of their existence than the sea which washed its shores. They lived on fish and clams. From the teeming animal life of the seas they obtained not only nourishment for themselves, but also fertilisers for the soil. According to William Wood, manuring with fish once in three years kept the land in good condition. Pestilence and famine had left eastern Massachusetts comparatively bare of inhabitants. The weak and emaciated Plymouth men hardly could have cleared new fields for cultivation.

¹ *Hist. Plymouth*, p. 100.

They took the arable and worn cornfields of the former cultivators. These worn soils required fish to manure and stimulate the greedy maize, according to the sage advice of their Indian teacher. The April run of fish gave the needed fertiliser, and the experience of the rude native proved itself good in the crops of grain harvested finally under his instructions. English wheat and peas failed this first season, though they succeeded afterward.

But soil, fish, and all natural advantages combined did not insure a continuance of this plenty. Un-^{Communism} ceasing labor was needed to produce regular ^{fails.} supplies of food. A sure economic basis must be laid, on which effort could be put forth, not only to create wealth, but even to sustain life. The Plymouth enterprise had been projected by the emigrants in joint interest with a company of merchant adventurers in London, who furnished the larger part of the capital. A complicated agreement¹ contemplated a division at the end of seven years of "y^e capitall & profitts" among all the shareholders. The emigrants stipulated that they should have their houses and home lots "in particular," and two days' time in each week to labor on private account. Apparently these items were in dispute and not fully settled when the expedition sailed.

The result was almost disastrous. The first year of comfort was succeeded by partial famine. The adventurers did not send capital, *i. e.* goods and supplies ; the emigrants did not labor ; paralysis was affecting the settlement. In the third year, 1623, Governor Bradford and his advisers, after much deliberation, allowed the virtual breaking up of the contract, and that "they² should set corne every man for his owne perticuler — furnishing a portion for public officers fishermen &c. who could not work — and in that regard trust to themselves ; in all

¹ Bradford, *Plymouth*, pp. 45, 49.

² *Ibid.*, p. 134.

other things to goe on in y^e generall way as before. And so assigned to every family a parcell of land."

The cheerful effort of personal energy succeeded to the sloth of communal interest, and plenty followed. Women and children worked freely in the fields to raise corn which should be their own. Governor Bradford states¹ his conviction that the theories of Plato and other communists will not bear the test of actual practice. The experience at Plymouth taught that the abnegation of self-interest checked the endeavors of "those most able and fitte for labour," and it brought no compensating advantage.

The settlers subsisted chiefly upon fish, and fishing became much the more important commercial interest, but ^{The beaver trade.} the fur trade came first in time. Beaver was the one commodity in such constant demand that it served for a currency in all colonial trade, and it was the best exchange to send to London. In September² of their first year, they sent a party in their shallop, under Squanto's guidance, eastward to trade with the Tarentine Indians, and they brought home "a good quantity of beaver." The Fortune, a small ship of fifty-five tons, arrived in November, 1621, from England. She was "speedily³ dispatcht away, being laden with good clap-bord as full as she could stowe, and 2 hogsheads of beaver and other skins." Her cargo was estimated at near £500. This was the foundation of the fur trade and lumber trade in New England.

In the latter part of the summer of 1622, the second year, the Discovery, an English ship trading along the coast toward Virginia, put in at Plymouth.⁴ She was well furnished with English beads — then in demand — and other goods for the Indian trade. The colonists bought dear and sold cheap, paying cent. per cent. profit and passing beaver at 3s. worth in a few years 20s. Neverthe-

¹ *Hist. Plymouth*, p. 135.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

² *Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

less, as these supplies enabled them to keep up their trade with the Indians, they considered the bargain favorable.

Thomas Weston, one of the London adventurers who sent out the Plymouth colony, in 1623 brought a small company and settled in Massachusetts Bay. The settlement failed, and he went over to Plymouth in distress. They let him have 100 beaver skins, or "170 lbs¹ odd pounds."

Gorges had obtained a patent with a monopoly of the rights of fishing in New England;² his attempts to enforce it in England caused much bitterness and complaint in court and parliament. In 1623 a company was sent out to Piscataqua to establish a plantation³ and *Fisheries*. They erected salt works, produced some salt, fished, traded with the natives for furs, and planted. The Dorchester Fishing Company, probably about the same time, set up a fishery at Cape Ann. Rev. John White was in this association, which had a capital of £3,000.⁴ And the Plymouth⁵ men sent an English supply ship there for the same purpose. They erected stages and fished, but one Baker, the master, was inefficient, and his company followed him in gluttony and laziness. Mr. William Peirce was sent over to carry the business through, but he could not mend matters, and the loss was considerable. The fishing ventures of Plymouth were always "fatal." They continued an agent there, trading in furs, which helped to make up the loss.

These enterprises began the great industry which has justly been considered the corner stone of New England prosperity. It gave her an effective exchange which compelled a steady income from the West Indies and the Catholic countries of Europe. The enforced fasts of the

¹ Bradford, *Hist.*, p. 134.

² *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.*, 1574-1660, pp. 33, 35.

³ Adams, *Portsmouth*, p. 9.

⁴ *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 15.

⁵ Bradford, *Hist.*, pp. 168, 169.

Church of Rome created a constant demand for the cod which thronged upon the coasts of New England and Newfoundland. John Smith, going there to take whale, found better profit in the cod, of which he secured 60,000 in a month.¹ With his usual sagacity, he foresaw that these fisheries would bring more solid value into the country than "the best mine the king of Spain hath."

Long before Smith's time the Basques — that mysterious people, without brothers, "that speaks" — a primitive race — had run their daring voyages by Labrador to Newfoundland, and had left their mark there in the word *Baccalaos*, the name of the codfish found by Sebastian Cabot in his first discoveries.

The early New England fishing was imperilled by the Indians, as well as by the dangers of the sea. They went twenty miles in boats from Cape Ann in 1624, "and yet they were in great fear."²

The incidental effect of the fisheries was very good. The regular exercise of this industry gradually brought the coasts into better subjection, and helped to consolidate the settlements on the shores.

The method pursued in the English fishing voyages about this time is interesting, as it shows the scale of prices and returns on which our own fisheries must have been carried on. They arrived on the coast³ in the early spring, and by midsummer sailed for home or to a foreign market. Some vessels were of two hundred tons, and carried fifty men. The crew, instead of wages, received one third share of the fish and oil. One third was allowed the owners for the use of the vessel, and another third went for victualling (about nine months), salt, nets, hooks, lines, and material for curing the fish. These supplies usually cost about £800, and an average good cargo was 67 tons, or 1,340 quintals in the market. The prices

¹ *Pathway to erect a Plantation.*

² Babson, *Gloucester*, p. 377.

³ 3 *Mass. H. C.*, viii. 180.

ranged from 36 to 44 rials a quintal. At 40 rials one third of the cargo would yield £1,340, which was the return for £800 at venture for nine months. They sometimes sent from England double crews; one remained at Newfoundland, while the vessel with fish and "Sayling" crew went home.¹

In 1624 a ship carpenter sent from England had built at Plymouth "two² very good and strong shallops (which after did them greate service),^{Shallops are built.} and a great and strong lighter." One of these boats was loaded with corn, after the harvest in the year 1625, and was sent to the Kennebec River.³ She was manned by staunch men from the colony, as they had no regular seamen. Winslow, a good man of business, conducted the expedition successfully, exchanging the corn, "having little or nothing els," for 700 lbs. of beaver, besides other furs.

They abandoned their attempts at fishing in the way of a commercial undertaking, and confined themselves to trading and planting. Their surplus of corn they sold at 6s. per bushel, and the good demand induced them to extend its cultivation. A trading post at Monhegan Island, on the coast of Maine, established by English merchants, was breaking up in 1626, and our colonists bought the stock,⁴ dividing it with David Thompson, who was trading at Piscataqua. The Plymouth share cost above £400, and they added £100 in purchasing a part of the cast-away goods from a French ship wrecked near Sagadahock. The boat was decked sufficiently to cover the cargo, but the men were exposed to the weather of the rough coasting voyages. Their ship carpenter was dead, but a house carpenter sawed the larger shallop in halves, lengthened and decked her. She did good service for seven years.

The colonists had been working in an irregular manner,

¹ "Planter's Plea :" Force, *Tracts*, ii. 38. ² Bradford, *Hist.*, p. 170.

³ Bradford, *Hist.*, p. 204.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

with divided interests. The fixed property and the trading stock had belonged to the company, and the planting was done "on the particular." Isaac Allerton in 1627 brought over from England a compromise with the adventurers, who agreed to release their claims on the colony for a future payment of £1,800, which the more substantial men guaranteed. They now called the people together, and it was mutually agreed that the trading should go on as before, for the benefit of the whole colony, the proceeds to be used in paying off this debt. The common stock was now shared among "either¹ heads of families, or single yonge men, that were of ability, and free, with meete discretion." A single man had one share; a father of a family, one share for each person in it. "Servants had none, but what either their marsters should give them out of theirs or their deservings should obtain from ye company afterwards." To each share was assigned twenty acres of land. "This distribution gave generally good contente and settled mens minds. Also they gave y^e Gove^r and four or five of ye spetial men, ye houses they lived in." Other houses were valued, those holding the better paying something to the worse, and each kept his own. They divided, also, the common stock of goats and horned cattle among the individual proprietors.

They built a pinnace in Buzzard's Bay, and made a small trading post at Manomet,² carrying their goods across the land to avoid the dangers of Cape Cod. This enterprise proved profitable. In the year 1627 they opened trade with the Dutch from New Amsterdam. De Rasières, the Dutch secretary, made his second visit to Manomet, where he brought sugar, Holland linen, stuffs, etc. This intercourse, carried on at Manomet for years, was mutually profitable. The Plymouth men traded tobacco to advantage until the Virginians carried it direct to New Amsterdam.

¹ Bradford, *Hist.*, p. 214.

² *Ibid.*, p. 221.

They had obtained a patent for lands on the Kennebec River, in Maine, and in 1628 they built a house and established a regular trading post there. Corn was their main article of traffic, but they furnished, also, "Coats,¹ shirts, ruggs, & blankets, biscett, pease, prunes," &c. These goods were obtained partly from England and partly from the outward cargoes of the English fishing ships.

Morton had gathered a company at Mount Wollaston, or Merry Mount, in the present Quincy ; they were free livers, and sadly offended the Pilgrims morally and commercially. Standish broke up the settlement, arrested Morton, and the Plymouth men sent him to England. They hoped to stop the supply of arms to the Indians. That was too large a trade to be controlled by the little Plymouth conclave. French, English, and Dutch all helped to spread among the natives the arms and gunpowder which were soon turned against themselves in many a bloody contest.

The wampum,² commodity and currency, which gave the Plymouth post at Kennebec such advantage in competing with the fishermen in supplying Indian trade. goods to the Indians, could not offset the incidental course of trade. Those commodities chiefly used by Indians, "trading" or coarse woolen cloth, bread, peas, etc., cost the empty fishing vessels nothing for transport, while the colonists were obliged to pay freight. A greater drawback was the price they paid for credit at Bristol, where Allerton, their agent, took goods at fifty per cent. advance over the rates prevailing at home. To escape this excessive charge, laid by the English merchants on a doubtful venture, Plymouth had to buy of the fishing fleet, paying in beaver. They passed these furs at colonial rates, and lost the advantage of remitting them to England against their debts there.

These drawbacks led them in 1629 into the purchase

¹ Bradford, *Hist.*, p. 233.

² *Ibid.*, p. 234.

of the ship White Angel, and of a fishing vessel fitted out from England to fish under the English custom of shares, etc. These ventures proved disastrous. There was bickering with Allerton and Hatherley about the responsibility for engaging in them. I do not enter into these occurrences, as the commercial operations of the adventurers in founding the colonies are beyond this account. It is the native industry and commerce of New England which should engage our attention.

We pass by the interesting settlement of Salem to consider the operations at the Bay. The Massachusetts Bay Colony of powerful men and women, strong in all the social virtues, of larger experience than the Plymouth Pilgrims, and better equipped in property and in resources necessary to a new state, now appears in our economical development. The business¹ of bringing over these colonists, in 1629, was started by a company of adventurers, carried on by them in joint interest with the planters, and there were also several joint operations by the company with Matthew Cradock, the merchant.

The most interesting point for our purposes, in these early transactions in England, was the engagement by which the joint stock — then involving about £4,000 — was assumed by a new and minor company of five adventurers and five planters, at a due appraisal. The parties in interest assigned to this minor company, to enable them to discharge such obligations, these four commercial privileges:² —

“ 1. Halfe the trade of the beavors, & all the other furrs.

“ 2. The Sole making of salt,

“ 3. The ffurnishing of a magazine at sett rates.

“ 4. The sole transportaçon of passengers & goods at certaine rates.”

It does not appear that anything came from this elabo-

¹ *M. C. R.*, i. 394, 402.

² *Ibid.*, i. 64.

rate subvention of the main privileges of trade. All colonising experiments failed as commercial enterprises.¹

The important economic fact, the most pregnant issue in both the commercial and the political future of New England, was the exemption in the charter² from all royal "taxes, subsidies and customs" for seven years, and from all taxes for twenty-one years, *except* "onlie the five pounds per centum" on importations into English dominions. This exemption, which virtually established freedom of trade, underlaid the prosperous growth of these colonies. We shall see how the Navigation Acts embarrassed and teased this promising growth, and how the commercial spirit, enlarging as it imbibed the freedom of the seas, finally burst these bonds and reached out into political independence.

The new immigrations about 1630 brought not only the East England Puritans and Independents who largely moulded our religious and political life, but in some bodies, especially in the Dorchester settlement, there came merchants and traders trained in Dorset, Devon, or elsewhere, who helped to give force and direction to the new economical undertakings which assured the future of the country.

We shall see that many difficulties were sometimes created, sometimes aggravated, by the artificial efforts — common at that time — to control prices, and to force trade out of its natural courses. Beaver was an essential factor in all their commercial calculations. In the previous year the governor and council, in their correspondence, had estimated beaver in New England at 6*s.* in fair exchange for English goods at thirty per cent. profit, with the freight added.³ This was a normal value, as they estimated it. But Dudley,⁴ in his letter to the Countess of Lincoln, says that, in the scarcity of corn,

¹ Chalmers, *P. Annals*, p. 195.

² *M. C. R.*, i. 14.

³ *M. C. R.*, i. 386.

⁴ Force, *T.*, ii. 11.

which, whether English or Indian, sold at 10s. "the strike," they forbade the sale of the precious food to the Indians. Under this pressure, beaver advanced to 10s. and 20s. per pound; "no corne, no beaver," said the native. The Court¹ was obliged to remove the fixed rate, and the price ruled at 20s.

The profits of early corn-planting were larger, especially when the crop was converted into beaver corn. in the course of trade with the natives. Although the Indians raised large quantities,—the Narragansetts² selling 500 or 1,000 bushels at a time,—yet they were so improvident that they bought it when scarce, paying large prices on credit. An instance is cited in the *New England Plantation*³ where a planter raised 364 bushels from 13 gallons of seed. He sold and trusted it to the Indians, each bushel for beaver worth 18s. In the following year, when his collections were made, his whole receipts from this crop amounted to about £327. The Dutch had the same system of trusting corn to the Indians.

From this period after 1630, I shall treat the fisheries and the fur trade as a part of the foreign commerce, they are so closely allied with the exchanges and the outward current of trade. It remains to trace the internal trade and the agricultural development of the country until the opening of industries and the establishment of homespun manufactures in 1640, after the flow of immigration had stopped.

One of the first difficulties encountered by the new society was in the adjustment of labor and wages.

^{Labor and Wages.} The conditions of European life were so much changed by the supply of land in the new world opened to every willing laborer that the employers of the Bay found great difficulty in carrying on their business. A system of prices gradually evolved from long-settled custom and

¹ *M. C. R.*, i. 81.

² *Winthrop*, i. 146.

³ *Force, T.*, i. 6.

from the lingering remnants of feudal service and obligation, could not be maintained where the ready land produced bushels of corn from handfuls of seed, and where a thatched log-hut quickly sheltered the servant escaped from his term of enforced labor. Many laborers were brought to all the British colonies, agreeing to work out their passage by a term of service in the new country. "New England Plantation"¹ says, that "a poor servant that is to possesse but fifty acres of land" can have wood and timber in abundance, and can keep a better fire than many noblemen in England can afford.

The problem was further complicated by the prevailing ideas of government, which would extend its powers into the regulation of every function of society, whether political, religious, or economical. This was a defect of the age, but the Puritan legislator fondly believed that, once freed from the malignant influence of the ungodly, that once based on the Bible; he could legislate prosperity and wellbeing for every one, rich or poor. A commonwealth worked by the interpretation of Scripture actually, technically turning Jewish history and precedent into New England law and custom, could not go wrong in the minds of these childlike statesmen.

The Court² made at once a fruitless attempt to regulate the price of labor. Carpenters, joiners, brick-layers, sawyers, and thatchers were limited to two shillings per day. If any one paid more or received more, he was to be fined ten shillings. Sawyers could take 4s. 6d. for one hundred feet of boards, at "six scoore to ye hundred," if the wood is felled and squared for them; one shilling extra if they fell and square their own timber. Again, master carpenters, masons, joiners, bricklayers, were limited to sixteen pence per day, and the "second sort" at twelve pence; at these prices board was furnished. These regulations lasted about six months and were repealed.

¹ Force, *Tracts*, i. 11.

² Mass. C. R., i. 74, 76.

The Court
fixes prices.

The general abundance of the new country, in spite of its harsh climate, speedily impressed most observers. ^{Good crops.} The winter was cold, but the summer sun, then as now, gave sufficient crops, with vegetable and fruit flavors hardly equalled elsewhere. I have alluded to the yield of corn: the same authority, the elder Higginson, says: "our Governour hath store of greene Pease growing in his Garden as good as ever I eat in England." "This country aboundeth naturally with store of Roots of great variety, and good to eat. Our Turnips, Parsnips, and Carrots are here both bigger and sweeter than is ordinarily to be found in *England*. Here are also store of Pumpions, Cowcumbers, and other things of that nature."¹

Plenty must come from settled order, and was not had immediately. Scarcity of grain in the year 1631 was relieved and compensated by the abundance of shellfish and stores of the sea. There was want of bread² and discomfort, but no famine. The ship Lion brought supplies from England, which was suffering under high prices for breadstuffs. We hear no more of any general want in the country.³ A pinnace from Virginia bound northward was driven into Salem by foul weather. This furnished a tempting market for her corn, which was probably destined originally for the fishing stations on the northern coasts. She sold her supply at ten shillings per bushel.⁴ Dudley⁵ quoted Narragansett corn at four shillings to the Countess of Lincoln the previous year. The next summer brought a plentiful crop, and when Governor Winthrop's family came, with a company of some sixty immigrants, it was easy to provide from the plantations near by, "for divers days, great store of provisions, as fat hogs, kids, venison, poultry, geese, partridges, etc."

¹ "N. E. Plantation," Force, *T.*, i. 7.

² Johnson, *W. W. Prov.*, ch. xxiv.

⁴ Winthrop, i. 56.

³ Winthrop, i. 63, 67.

⁵ Force, *T.*, ii. 10.

Maize furnished not only food, but a currency for carrying on the internal trade. In October the Court¹ passed an ordinance that it be received in payment for debts, unless money or beaver was named in the contract.

It was beaten by hand in large mortars into coarse meal or hominy, before the ordinary gristmills were in full operation. Plymouth² in 1632 authorizes a “water work to beat corn ;” but it was not to interfere with an intended grinding-mill. The toll allowed was one pottle per bushel.

Of the natural products of the country, none was more important than the native grass, which afforded pasturage in summer and hay for the long winters. Without this essential part of the economy of a farm, the cattle could hardly have been reared which enabled the settlers to subdue the wilderness. The first decade of almost every settlement brought all the comforts of simple agricultural plenty, reinforced by certain hunting and fishing. The most of the valleys and plains contained long reaches of fertile soil, where the timber and brushwood had been kept down through frequent fires kindled by Indians or by other causes. These tracts were called by Wood³ in 1633 “great broad meadows near the plantations.” Here the grass was close-set, waist high, and in some places as high as the shoulders ; a good mower could cut three loads in a day. It grew as well after cutting as in its natural state. He says that many object to this “coarse fodder.” But the cattle were not so nice ; they ate it with alacrity and thrived upon it. He compares it to “lea-hay.” Thomas Graves, the engineer, gives similar testimony respecting this grass and hay. Mason had imported the large Danish cattle at Piscataqua. As early as 1638, Norton, the agent, drove more than one hundred oxen to Boston, where he sold

¹ *M. C. R.*, i. 92.

² *Plym. C. R.*, i. 8.

³ *N. E. Prospect*, ch. iv. 12.

them in the season of high prices at £25 per head. These detached facts show the abundance of cattle better than any consolidated statistics of their numbers.

Next to the Indian, the bear and wolf held firmest possession of the land, and the colonist worked long and hard to exterminate them. The wolf was much the most active and troublesome. The best check to his predatory appetite was a hook wound and imbedded in tallow or other animal matter, left convenient to his approach. When William Pynchon was treasurer of the colony he delivered twenty-five of these hooks to Salem¹ at one time. And as he hunted the predatory wolf, his brethren of the magistracy afterward hunted him for heresy.

Wood² states four eggs sold at a penny, and a quart of new milk at the same rate; butter at 6d., Cheshire cheese at 5d. Fifteen hundred head of cattle, besides "goats and swine innumerable," could thus supply the market.

Farming was now established sufficiently, and wheat and maize were plentiful enough to require mills *Gristmills.* for grinding. The primitive mortars borrowed from the Indians now gave place to millstones driven by wind or water. Mills were started in several places during this period. The first one was driven by the wind, and tradition locates it at Watertown. It was moved to Boston as early as 1632, that it might gain more favorable winds. Edward Tomlins built a mill at Lynn³ in 1633, said to be the second in the colony. Dorchester has a water-mill, claimed to be the first, in the same year; and Israel Stoughton,⁴ the builder, is granted a fish-weir. This local fishing privilege is the type of many which were established on the different streams. Stoughton was to sell alewives to the men of the plantation at 5s. per thousand. In many of the grants the price was left

¹ Felt, *An.*, i. 267.

² *New. Eng. Prospect*, p. 57.

³ Newhall, pp. 127, 143.

⁴ *Hist. Dorchester*, pp. 34, 83.

open, but a fixed deduction was made in favor of the home trade.

Watertown¹ built a water-mill probably before 1635. This has an especial interest, as one half was owned by Matthew Cradock, "the adventurer." One half was sold in 1635 for £200; twenty acres of land had been assigned to it by the town. Ipswich granted R. Saltonstall permission for a gristmill in 1635. The toll was fixed at $\frac{1}{8}$ of the grain.² A windmill is mentioned at Plymouth in 1637. Salem had a water-mill for grinding corn in 1636, a windmill in 1637, and Captain Trask's "tide-mill" 1640.³ Richard Dummer built the first gristmill at Newbury in 1638.⁴ Concord⁵ had a gristmill in 1639, which was built by Mr. Bulkeley, and one is mentioned at Duxbury.⁶ Rhode Island⁷ made an allowance for building a water-mill in 1638.

All these products and industries were not created without labor, and the colonists were hard driven in obtaining the necessary servants. The natives were forced into service for one reason and another, which would not satisfy modern criticism. A special grant of one Indian was made to Winthrop, and another to his son, to serve them in 1634.

Now in 1637 Hugh Peter⁸ writes to John Winthrop, Jr., that he hears of a dividend of women and children from the Pequot captives, and that he would like a share, "a young woman or girl and a boy if you think good." He speaks also of "some boyes for Bermudas." Emanuel Downing⁹ tells Governor Winthrop in the next year that in the scarcity of labor they cannot improve the country without slaves. When such men deliberately took up

¹ Bond, ii. 995.

² Felt, *Ipswich*, p. 95.

³ Felt, *An. Salem*, ii. 165; Bentley, *MS. Am. Ant. Soc.*

⁴ *Hist. Rowley*, p. 411.

⁵ Shattuck, p. 19.

⁶ Winsor, p. 43.

⁷ *R. I. C. R.*, i. 59.

⁸ 4 *Mass. H. C.*, vi. 95.

⁹ 4 *M. H. C.*, vi. 65.

slavery, we may infer that common public sentiment ran low. Probably the economic proceeds of slavery filled the mind of the average colonist, and left no room for consideration of the rights of his fellow-man.

Enforced service of Indian or negro suggests the whole question of labor. The matter of labor and wages would warrant a special study of colonial times.

Ceaseless legislation on labor. It enters into about every detail of social organisation and common life. A suggestive feature in all the legislation is its instability. Every statute failed, yet they were immediately making more statutes in the same direction. There was a force above and beyond themselves compelling action ; when it failed, there must be renewed action.

The statute of 1630 has been noticed. That of 1634¹ put the daily wages of superior mechanics, "master carpenters, sawyers, masons, clapboard-ryvers, wheelwrights," etc., at not above 2s. per day, or at 14d. per day and board. Mowers were included in the same rank. There seems to have been difficulty in fixing the second rank of mechanics as the first statute had classified them. Now the statute said simply that the pay of "inferiors" should be fixed by a constable and two others. Master tailors were to receive 12d., inferiors 8d. per day with "dyett." In a copartnership of tailors in 1639, either partner was to be charged 16d. per day if absent from his duties.² No one could be idle under a penalty, and the authorities especially frowned upon "common coasters, vnpfittable fowlers and tobacco takers."

In 1634³ the capitalist and employer attempted to gain a point of vantage, for the law freed him from the fine of 5s. for *giving* to workmen wages above the Court rates. In the next year several men were fined for *taking* 2s. 6d. per day, or wages in excess of the law. This unequal

¹ *M. C. R.*, i. 109.

² *Lechford, Note Book*, p. 92.

³ *M. C. R.*, i. 127, 153, 159.

obligation did not work any better, and in September, 1635 it was repealed. But free trade in labor did not suit a people always craving legislation. In 1636¹ the towns were given liberty to fix wages within their own borders. This local option was not broad enough to control the economic cataclysm following the breakdown in prices of 1640. Laborers and others were then enjoined by the General Court to lower wages according to the fall in the price of commodities. Plymouth fined laborers for taking excessive wages as late as 1639.²

The Massachusetts Court held in a firm grip its *quasi* dependent residents. It bound out felons to labor as apprentices, and supervised the whole system of apprenticeship.³ It fined the employer for selling the time of his servant contrary to the order of the Court. The barbarous whipping-post was frequently used to discipline a refractory servant. When whipped, their service was generally extended "twice soe longe."

Administration of government in those days consisted largely in meddlesome interference with daily affairs, where modern experience has taught that the free will of the citizen is the best regulator. These solid burgesses tried to so adjust the burdens of the state that their own backs and those of their poor dependents might be galled the least possible. But their intuitive sagacity seldom failed in indicating the finally tenable grounds of legislation.

A curious instance of the perplexed questions they must have solved is in the petition, in 1640, of Zaccheus Gould, of Lynn, in behalf of himself and other "husbandmen of the Country."⁴ In consequence of "one day's trayning this yeare he was much damnfyed in his hay."

¹ *M. C. R.*, i. 183.

² *Plym. C. R.*, i. 128.

³ *M. C. R.*, i. 99, 104, 162, 315, and see Lechford, *Note Book*, pp. 150, 174.

⁴ Lechford, *Note Book*, p. 322.

He recites that the farmers are engaged in work for the good of the commonwealth, especially when planting “English corne.” The fishermen are justly exempted from training, because their occupation runs for the public good. He prays that “husbandmen & their servants employed about English graine” may be exempted from training “in seed tyme, hay tyme, & harvest.” We may imagine that worthy Puritan legislators did not welcome the trained lawyer Lechford, who assisted the simple husbandman in such puzzles. The proposition was reasonable in itself, but impracticable in the prevailing conditions of the commonwealth.

When the Court was not occupied with the graver business of state, it devoted itself to correcting morals by statute. ^{Morals by statute.} and particularly to regulating dress and fashion, for that was a large part of morals. Whenever the sturdy Puritan in the colonies faltered for a moment, he was nagged by his fiercer brethren in England into busying himself with the small affairs of his neighbors. One writes to Governor Winthrop in 1636⁶, “many in your plantacions discover much pride.”¹ These proud sinners order lace of the narrow kinds, “going as farr as they may,” because wide lace was prohibited. They write, too, “for cutt-worke coifes; and others, for deep stammell dyes.” All of this is bewailed by the stern moralist.

This luxurious apparel should be revealed in the inventories,² and we study the meagre ones preserved for 1640 and the previous years with the greatest interest. Three suits of clothes stand at £3, three coats £2 10s., a hat and doublet £3, one coat £1. These prices correspond with £2 10s., the sum quoted by Lechford³ that Robert Keayne paid for a “silver laced coate and a gold wrought cap.” Four pairs of shoes cost 14s., four of

¹ 4 M. H. C., vi. 450.

² *Suffolk Prob. Rec.*, ii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11.

³ *Note Book*, p. 67.

stockings 6s., two of linen drawers 1s. 6d. Prices of fabrics are given below.¹ As so much extravagance is charged to the female sex in all ages, it is singular that we find so little value in garments for them. An "old stuff petticoat" is valued at 8s.

In household stuff, three feather-beds and two bolsters are at £7, one do. of each £2. There is no mention of pillows. Feather-beds have a constant value in every age. One pair of fine sheets was worth £1, two sheets 12s., two table-cloths 4s., thirty ells of new linen £2 5s., nine towels 6s., fourteen napkins 7s. Then table dishes were generally of pewter; sixteen pewter dishes were valued at £2, twelve do. at £1, while a solitary cup of silver was at £2 10s. Fourteen "spoons" (probably of pewter) were put at one shilling. Their most useful cooking utensils were of brass; a skillet at 5s., a large kettle at 12s., while a "great iron kettle" was 9s., and a gridiron 2s. 8d. A fowling-piece and musket were £2, a "great Bible" 10s. 6d. Their mirrors must have been small, for one dozen "looking-glasses" are invoiced at one shilling.

A greater interest attaches to one little item in 1639, viz., four yards of "home made cloth" at 6s.² Two spinning-wheels, not in the same inventory, are put at 3s. in 1638. These bits of information show, not only what the colonists were wearing, but what they were doing.

A most valuable and interesting document of the early history of Massachusetts — where documents of this kind are rare — is in the business record and journal of Thomas Lechford.³ A lawyer, driven from

¹ 1640. *Suffolk P. R.*, ii. 10, 11. Part of an inventory: "3 ells of Holland, 13s. ; 1 ell of calico, 1s. 2d. ; 3 yds. of cambric, 10s. ; 7 yds. of kersie, £1 8s. ; 6 yards of Linsey woolsey, 9s. ; 3½ yards of English mohaire, 10s. ; 4 yards of tufted fustian, 4s. ; 1½ yards green serge, 5s. ; 6 pair of large stockings and 3 lbs. yarn, £1 3s."

² *Suffolk P. R.*, pp. 2, 3.

³ *Note Book*, published by Amer. Ant. Soc., 1885.

England for engaging in the great Prynne's trial, he came to Boston in 1638. Until 1641, he notes minutely the daily transactions in his profession. Much of the social life of the Massachusetts and even of the Connecticut colonists passes through these working records of a lawyer's life. Many features of colonial life are lighted up and revealed anew in the description of these hard, stiff facts, told as it is in an artless way. His tract entitled "Plain Dealing" has been well known and used in studying Puritan controversies. This homely note book is far more valuable. It is significant that he did not stay long in America. The statesmen of the Bay did not believe in lawyers. The estimate of judicial and legal responsibility has changed curiously. Then, the best men, contesting, could approach the best men, who were judges, that they might give and take opinions concerning a cause pending in court. This did not offend the Puritan sense of civic right and wrong.

But "lawyers to direct men in their causes" were unnecessary and wicked in the ancient days of Boston. Lechford's theological tendencies were worse than his civic influence in his profession. He held: "(1) That the Anti-Christ described in the Revelation was not yet come, nor any part of that Prophecy yet fulfilled from the 4th chapter to the end. (2) That the Apostolick function was not yet ceased; but that there still ought to be such, who should, by their transcendent authority, govern all Churches."¹ Even though he should not advocate these opinions openly, it was dangerous to the Puritan theocracy — as the fathers held — that such heresies should exist within its borders.

Lechford's "Note Book" gives us, among his records of ^{Sales of} real estate. contemporary observation, some sales of property which are interesting. Richard Evered,² of Dedham, a farrier, sells in 1638 to Thomas Nelson, of Boston,

¹ Lechford, *Note Book*, xvi.

² *Ibid.*, p. 57.

gentleman, a house and lot in Cambridge, with six acres of arable land and five acres of meadow, for £10. Thomas Paynter,¹ a joiner, conveys to George Barrell, a cooper, a dwelling-house and garden in Boston for £28 sterling. Roxbury has a cowleech in the person of John Graves. Samuel Cole, innholder, sells to Captain Robert Sedgwick his new mansion and parts of the old house of William Hutchinson² for the sum of £200 sterling. There is a curious division of the parts of the old house, and the new one is to be thatched. Thomas Dexter³ wills to his son his mansion-house, etc., with six hundred acres land, at Sandwich, or, if he prefers, he may take £500 instead.⁴

William Coddington,⁵ with his associates, is moving in 1639 to found the colony on Rhode Island. Dating from Acquednecke, he sells William Tyng, a prominent merchant of Boston, his dwelling-house adjoining Governor Bellingham's, garden, orchard, etc., with sundry lands, and five hundred acres at Mount Wollaston, all for the price of £1,300 sterling. Coddington retains shelter at the Mount Wollaston farm for thirty head of cattle during the next winter. Tyng⁶ leases this farm to John Reade, and there is a full account of the stock, the method of division of the crop upon shares, and many interesting items of the agriculture of the time.⁷ John Throckmorton, gentleman, of the settlement of New Providence, sells to Richard Parker, of Boston, merchant, one half of Prudence Island, in Narragansett Bay, for £50 sterling. William Hutchinson,⁸ of Acquednecke, gentleman, and Edward Hutchinson, of Boston, his son, sell to David

¹ Lechford, *Note Book*, p. 33.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 54, 56.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁴ For various transactions in houses and lands, see *Ibid.*, pp. 146-150, 152, 156.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 62, 66.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁷ See *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 206, 211, for details of management of farms and cattle.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

Sellecke, of Dorchester, "soap boyler," for £80 (£20 in hand, £60 in five years), a dwelling-house in Dorchester, built by Rosseter, with one acre and a half home lot, sixteen acres wood ground, and their right on Dorchester Neck, three and a half acres, more or less.

A curious record, in the petition of Barnabas Davis,¹ of Charlestown, shows the prices of cattle and sheep, and the methods of caring for them.

Before we pass to the institutions on which all social development, including trade and commerce, Roads. rested, we must consider the beginnings of the roads, the ways by which the settlers led in their civilisation and tracked out the future destiny of the country.

The aboriginal paths must be widened and smoothed into roads before the European colonist could consider himself at home in these strange lands. Endicott at Salem could not visit Winthrop in Boston in 1631, because he was not vigorous enough at the moment to risk the inevitable wading the journey involved. In this year, 1639, we find ferries first engaging the cares of the settlers. The same year Thomas Williams is granted² a ferry from Winnisimmett (now Chelsea); the rate to Boston was four pence and to Charlestown three pence for each person. Edward Converse³ carries from Charlestown to Boston⁴ one person for two pence, and each additional person one penny. There had been a grant to the "first ferryman" for a ferry in 1630 from Boston to Charlestown at one penny⁵ and the same rate for one hundred pounds of merchandise; apparently the rates were not sufficient to establish the communication. Afterward they were known as "the Great" and "the Penny" ferry.⁶

¹ Lechford, *Note Book*, pp. 370, 371.

² *M. C. R.*, i. 87.

³ He was a man of substance, a selectman 1635-40, and, dying in 1663, leaves an estate of £827 5s. 6d. Frothingham, *Charlestown*, p. 78.

⁴ *M. C. R.*, i. 88.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁶ Frothingham, *Charlestown*, p. 94.

In 1632 Winthrop visited Bradford and the sister settlement at Plymouth after two days' travel, having forded the streams on the back of an Indian guide. Roads, the true highways of intercourse, demanded bridges. In 1633 a "cart bridge"¹ over Muddy River, also Stony River, is built at the charge of Boston and Roxbury. In Scituate,² Plymouth County, the first one recorded is a foot-bridge. The next is Vassall's. In 1634 the Court³ allows Stoughton to "keep a horse bridge at Neponset." The court of the Old Colony appointed a committee to lay out highways in Duxbury.⁴ A more positive evidence of regular intercourse between neighboring settlements is afforded by the markets. A weekly market is maintained at Salem⁵ in 1634, and the same had been established in Boston⁶ on the Thursdays of 1633.

In 163⁴₅ communication had become common enough to embolden travellers to complain to the Court,⁷ which empowered the Assistants to lay out new highways, and to rectify the old ones. In all districts there were trails and paths, more or less beaten by the patient tread of the Indian. This ordinance marks the transition when the organised government of the white settlers subdues these wild paths, and converts them into wheel-tracks and roads easy for their trained animals.

In 1635 Cambridge⁸ improves its connection by a partial bridge or causeway at Dunster Street. Joseph Cooke kept a ferry at one penny; on lecture days he was content with a halfpenny, the passengers were so numerous. This was also the route to the present Brighton; the next route to Boston was through Charlestown and by the ferry near Copp's Hill. Dorchester also has a ferry.⁹

Ipswich¹⁰ makes a foot-bridge in 1635 (which it does not

¹ *M. C. R.*, i. 107.

² Deane, p. 15.

³ *M. C. R.*, i. 128.

⁴ Winsor, p. 17.

⁵ *M. C. R.*, i. 127.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

⁷ *M. C. R.*, i. 141.

⁸ Paige, p. 37.

⁹ *M. C. R.*, i. 159.

¹⁰ Felt, p. 111.

widen out until 1641), and licenses Robert Andrews, by the authority of the General Court, to keep an ordinary or inn. Watertown¹ gets the same privilege; and in the following year Deacon Thomas Chisholm, afterwards steward of Harvard College, opened an ordinary at New Towne.² Lynn³ had the famous "Anchor" Tavern, which existed for 170 years, as early as 1630; it was the half-way house from Boston to Salem. In 1633 Salem⁴ forbids ordinary keepers to charge more than 6d. for a meal. Boston had ordinaries, cook-shops, and victualling houses in all these years, though the records regulating them do not appear until 1636.⁵

The modern hotel — a palace whose keepers are rulers, and whose guests are conventional slaves — is in every respect unlike these early taverns. The comfort and genial hospitality of these little shelters in a partial wilderness, where man's ways are strange and nature is oppressive, must be felt to be comprehended. The road, bridge, and inn denote a society where people of like desires and tastes live, travel, commingle, trade, and cultivate that fellowship which must drive out savagery, and must bring in civilisation.

Like all the social outgrowths of this time — not pertaining to the Puritans merely, but of this period — the inn was an institution, and not a mere incident of travel and wayfare. John Holgrave of Salem,⁶ in 1637, at "the earnest request of the town" undertakes an ordinary for entertaining strangers. Would the traveller drink sack or strong waters? He cannot, for the General Court⁷ has forbidden the sale at inns, and looks carefully to the characters of its licen-

¹ Bond, ii. 1075.

² Paige, *Cambridge*, p. 223; also *M. C. R.*, i. 180.

³ Newhall, p. 114.

⁴ Felt, *Annals*, i. 416.

⁵ *Mem. H. Bos.*, i. 493.

⁶ Felt, *Annals*, i. 417.

⁷ *M. C. R.*, i. 205.

sees in each town, to see that its instructions are obeyed. Would he vary his limited fare by a cake or a bun? No, sir! These jolly viands are not allowed by the magistrates¹ except in the festivities of marriage or burial. The brewers are not allowed to sell, to the inns, beer stronger than 8s. per bbl. On the other hand, innkeepers are directed to furnish meals as poor as called for; not to force meals at 12d. and above on "pore people." The 8 shilling limit in the beer cannot have worked to their satisfaction, for the next year² the ordinary keepers are allowed to brew for themselves. Vpsall is licensed in Dorchester and Knight in Newbury in 1637.³ The governor's "Great House" in Charlestown became an ordinary in 1638 (licensed in 1635 probably). It was long known as the "Great Tavern."⁴ Francis Sprague keeps a "Victualling" in Duxbury.⁵ These scattered inns show increasing intercourse. Rhode Island opens her first tavern at Portsmouth⁶ in 1638. It also serves for a brewery and grocery.

The system for improving the roads moves forward, for in 1637 the Salem⁷ act for mending highways requires every workingman upon the seventh day of the month to appear and to contribute his labor, under a penalty of 3s. The General Court⁸ fines several towns for defective highways. In this year there is a notice of a road from Salem over to Lynn.⁹ A jury of twelve had been impanelled in 1637 to lay out highways about Plymouth and Duxbury;¹⁰ and in 1638 the bridge over Jones's River, in the latter town, is made passable for carts. Watertown opens a road to Sudbury and Concord.

¹ *M. C. R.*, i. 214.

² *Ibid.*, i. 238.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 199.

⁴ Frothingham, *Charlestown*, p. 96.

⁵ Winsor, p. 46.

⁶ Arnold, i. 128.

⁷ Felt, *Annals*, i. 285.

⁸ *M. C. R.*, i. 247.

⁹ Newhall, p. 98.

¹⁰ Winsor, pp. 17, 18.

In 1639 the General Court¹ passed a more comprehensive act, directing all highways to be laid out. Each town was to appoint two or more men to connect the roads with the next town. In consequence a coastwise and continuous highway was opened from Newbury on the Merrimack to Hingham. It was found hard to keep a hotel for the whole commonwealth, and the towns were allowed to choose fit men to sell wine;² any one, licensed or not, could entertain strangers "on great pressure;" and ordinaries are to provide stables, hay, pasturage, etc. In short, this was broader legislation releasing from petty, bureaucratic control, business which the time required. Improvements too weighty for local effort were assisted by the colony. The Bay³ grants £50 to Lynn "from the country" toward a cart-bridge over the river. The travel from Boston⁴ had been obliged to break journey by the ferry at this point. Salem had a ferry to Cape Ann in 1636, but now its facilities are enlarged by a horse boat. Horses and great beasts are transported at 6d.; goats, calves, and swine, at 2d. That principle of the local limitation of privilege to the immediate community, so far-reaching in its effects, is illustrated here. "Town dwellers" are carried at one penny, strangers at two pence each.⁵

The prohibition in 1637 by the Bay of the sale of wines and spirits did not last long, for licenses appear. In 1638 one was given Robert Long, of Charlestown⁶ conditioned on taking the stock from Thomas Lynde, "who formerly sold." An inn license is granted in Braintree,⁷ and in the next year the privilege to "draw wine." A wine license in Boston is assigned to Katherine Barriton by Christopher and Anne Batt.⁸ There is much formality in the trans-

¹ *M. C. R.*, i. 280.

² *Ibid.*, i. 280.

³ *Ibid.*, 261.

⁴ Newhall, *Lynn*, pp. 94, 183.

⁵ Felt, *Annals, Salem*, i. 299, 300.

⁶ Frothingham, p. 84.

⁷ Pattee, p. 164.

⁸ Lechford, *Note Book*, p. 181.

fer, showing an important transaction. At New Haven,¹ Conn., on the contrary, John Charles is forbidden, because "there hath been much disorder by it."

We may now recount briefly these beginnings of the economy of our forefathers; they are small in each detail, yet they are the corner-stones of our colonial structure. The planting of Indian corn was their first and most pregnant industry. They soon left their communal system, in this and other agriculture, and built up their society on the only sure basis, individual effort. Likewise they soon cut loose from the fetters which, through the joint interest of the adventurers in England, bound their enterprise; they did better on their own sole account. Beaver and other furs, being the chief exchange, were first sought after in their trade. Then came fisheries,—not prosecuted largely by the Plymouth men, but destined to become the mightiest of the New England industries. The two "great and very good" shallops were the first craft built here by white men.

Then comes the colony of Puritans to Massachusetts Bay, more powerful, with far-reaching purposes, and destined to achieve large results in state-making. Their charter, though the patent of a trading corporation, exempted them virtually from royal taxes, and started their trade well forward toward an unfettered development.

All the colonists wasted much governmental strength in fruitless efforts to regulate prices, and especially the prices of wages. This was false progress, economically and socially; a series of petty attempts to stretch public authority into personal affairs, characteristic of the age. Severe regulations of both male and female apparel, with other sumptuary statutes, formed parts of the conventional morality of the time.

No mistakes of law or administration could keep back the teeming abundance of the land, poor in soil, but rich

¹ *Hist. N. H.*, p. 44.

in the hearty labor of its owners. The immigrants soon lived in plenty, and built wind-driven and water-driven mills which ground their grains.

From the meagre records and inventories we glean many detached yet interesting facts, of the prices of property, of personal effects, that reveal the ways of the time. Above all, we commend the dry note book of Lechford¹ for its outlines of the daily life of these early days.

At last, a true economy of life, a solid social intercourse, was fairly instituted, when roads were opened and smoothed, when bridges spanned the intervening torrents, and warm inns offered shelter by the way. The journeying travellers joined village to village, and enlightened the farms as they went.

¹ *Note Book*, published by Amer. Ant. Soc.

CHAPTER V.

OPENING OF COMMERCE.

1631-1662.

UNDER the same conditions that regulated their home life, our colonies opened intercourse with the outward world. That trade without restriction — unfettered by toll — should actually benefit by its own movement those participating in it, was inconceivable to the mind of the seventeenth century statesmen and legislators. The old guild and feudal restrictions were broken and unsettled by the transfer of Europeans to the New World, but traces of these influences were left in the very commercial fibre of citizens trained by centuries of privileged trade and monopolies.

What could be more natural or more desirable to the citizen of Massachusetts Bay than that he himself and his fellow, the chosen of the Lord, should possess the fruits of this new Canaan, and should exchange them with the world at large under the most favored conditions of his own choosing! The chartered grant, the privileged monopoly won by subtle court intrigue and parcelled among greedy feudal partisans, was left behind in the murky political atmosphere of Europe. None the less should wholesome restraint and jealous restriction keep the hard-won privileges of these new communities, to be enjoyed by their own members and free citizens.

Accordingly we see, in the beginning, attempts to control the movement of commerce. When the new settlers

needed almost everything, and any tide of commodities or comforts was welcome, the crude ideas, not of New England, but of the century, checked the natural efforts of trade to supply these wants. In 1631 the Bay would not allow corn or other commodities to be bought from ships without a license from the governor.¹ In 1632 no planter sailing for England could carry money or beaver without the permission of the governor,² and the penalty was forfeiture. In 1634 trade was sufficient to require a weekly market at Salem,³ one having been established on Thursdays in Boston⁴ the previous year. Yet export of corn or meal was forbidden until the next harvest, and the act requiring a governor's license to purchase it from vessels was renewed.⁵

We might presume that this legislation was aimed against famine and scarcity. But in March of this year the Court named ten citizens, any of whom might buy a vessel's cargo, store and sell it to any one at a profit not above five per cent. This extraordinary attempt to pervert great affairs by petty management lasted only until July,⁶ when it was repealed.

Wages had been fixed at certain prices, and to offset this interference the Court⁷ in 1634 limited the Profits limited by statute. rate of profit at four pence in the shilling of cash cost in England on all importations of provisions, clothing, tools, or commodities, except cheese, wine, oil, vinegar, and liquors, which were left free on account of the extra risk they occasioned. Linen and other commodities of "close stowage and small hazard" were left to the "good conscience in moderation" of the merchants; if this failed them, they were to be punished.

In 1635 the statutes for restraining buyers from boarding ships, for limiting profits to four pence in the shilling,

¹ *M. C. R.*, i. 88.

² *Ibid.*, p. 91.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 112.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 140, 141.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 142, 149.

⁷ *Ibid.*, i. 110.

and for fixing rates of wages, were all repealed.¹ These experiments in regulating the consciences, the trading instincts, the energies of the people, all by one rule, show curious results. They repealed the statutes, but left these "wrongs" generally indictable. In the same year a party is fined² five shillings for selling knives, and four shillings sixpence for selling scythes, at above four pence in the shilling profit.

Later in the same season an act forbids buying of ships until an invoice of all commodities is given to the governor.³ And no provisions can be bought to sell again, or to export, without leave of the magistrates.

In these crude attempts of the early legislators to regulate trade, corn is treated as food, as currency, or as an ordinary commodity of merchandise. We have seen how they tried to restrain the export of this necessary food in times of scarcity. In 1631,⁴ it was made a legal tender for debts, at the usual prices prevailing, unless money or beaver was named in the contract. In 1633 feeding it to swine was forbidden. The price,⁵ which had been fixed at 6s., was now freed by law. The rate was fixed from year to year at which it was receivable for taxes or for debts. Fluctuations in the market value of the commodity led to great difficulties in regulating the currency of corn. In 1637⁶ a committee of the General Court was appointed to rebate the losses of those who had received corn from the country at five shillings, the price being now freed. Later in the same year the rate⁷ was fixed at three shillings and sixpence.

This internal trade afforded the colonists the means of comfortable living. Agriculture, furs, the fisheries, with the lumber industry, soon created a demand for com-

¹ *M. C. R.*, i. 159.

² *Ibid.*, p. 160.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 166.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i. 104, 110, 115.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

⁷ *Ibid.*, i. 206.

merce with the external world. Before introducing the first New England vessel, we should consider for a moment the men of New England in their relation to the state, as we have considered them already in their relation to town communities. John Winthrop was a type of these men.

Characteris-
tics of Win-
throp.

State growth, the building of a permanent government in the crystallising institutions of a new community, was forecasted in the career of Winthrop.

He was the first statesman of these American shores, as he was the first merchant and best-beloved citizen. He had all the qualities of the founder of a state,—political, religious, social. He¹ labored, literally, in the fear of the Lord; he planted and traded, sowed and built, governed and fought, loved wife and children and neighbors, in the immediate presence of God. Not that he was always inspired by it: occasionally the narrow and foolish limits of the time could overcome his lofty, sagacious, and gentle spirit, but he sought for the right and the true. In his minute diary of the business of the little commonwealth, in his letters to wife and children, the same large humanity, the same wisdom of affairs, shine forth, and they shine as constantly as human limitations ever allow. His expression, his statement of the principles animating his conduct, was narrowed and blemished by the straitened culture of his period; but it was founded in the deepest wisdom, and penetrated with a profound knowledge of men and government.

No thoughtful reader can contemplate the outgrowth of New England without a sense of awful reverence. But while we can see the result, we never can appreciate sufficiently the perils through which that early government navigated, the unknown seas it traversed, as well as the

¹ "A bolder spirit never dwelt, a truer heart never beat, in any bosom." — Quincy.

constant shoals and quicksands besetting its progress. The protesting idea in the church, the individual idea in the state, had been pushed to their farthest development. The doings of the children of Israel inspired the faith of the Pilgrims, but the most earnest credulity could not draw the organism of a modern state from that antiquated storehouse, venerated though it might be. If we leave the ecclesiastical and turn to the civic side of their history, we find the government which should be no government, and that which should be every man's government, both and all, mooted and tried in the early colonial times. Our polity, our system of liberty regulated by law, was not "an original conception"¹ of Winthrop's mind, it is true. Many causes entered into this final result. The Puritan restraints of Massachusetts,—often too severe for Winthrop's moderate temper,—and the "lively experiment" of Roger Williams based on soul liberty, were parts of one whole. Nevertheless, in all great movements one man best represents the many, and that man gives the needed direction to the stream of history. The stately historian of New England well shows that its development, and the developing life of its children everywhere, owe the largest debt to the courage, the self-sacrifice, the wisdom, of John Winthrop.² These individual citizens and these half-formed cells of civic administration, needed both instruction and discipline, and Winthrop was capable of either. The notion that one man can become a citizen out of his own solitary action,—the notion that a majority can form a just and harmonious state,—either of these political

¹ Palfrey, *N. E.*, ii. 266.

² "This other kind of liberty I call civil or federal . . . is the proper end and object of authority, and cannot subsist without it; and it is a liberty to that only which is good, just, and honest. This liberty you are to stand for, with the hazard, not only of your goods, but of your lives, if need be. Whatsoever crosseth this is not authority, but a distemper thereof." — Winthrop, *Hist. N. E.*, ii. 281.

variations would have brought disaster to the rising commonwealth. The balance of government, the working of a civic system through a modulated action of all its parts, was gradually developed ; and no man contributed to that result in the same degree with Governor Winthrop. He sacrificed an English home of the better sort to the Puritan idea, sacrificed his fortune freely in the support of the Massachusetts community, sacrificed himself to the infant commonwealth as it grew under the hand of the Puritan fathers. Often chosen governor, when beaten in the canvass for the highest office he served cheerfully, and with the same quiet dignity, as deputy in the second place.¹ He early comprehended that profound truth, the grandest discovery of the human mind, which abides in the superior majesty of government.

He was a natural head of a state.

Whatever is or occurs, through incident or accident, there is one power ; and that power becomes, through the action of the whole people, through its inherent divinity, the ruling, controlling force, the assured dominion of the state.

This power is lodged finally in one man. Where "positive law" fails, and there always comes a season when it fails, the man endowed with "power to govern" must be ready, and must put forth those reserved forces which, self-directed, become tyranny, but which, administered for the good of the whole state, transmute absolute will into the free, organic action of a people. The development of this commonwealth and its governor, which we have sketched, created a mighty race of men. These men founded a commerce as successful relatively, as their state was successful in its administration.

¹ "To make a man a governour over a people gives him, by necessary consequence, power to govern that people ; otherwise there were no power in any commonwealth to order, dispose, or punish in any case where it might fall out that there were no positive law declared in." — Winthrop, *Hist. N. E.*, ii. 205.

Commerce, the dividing and sharing of the world's goods, is not a mere barter of material things. Whether it be in the form of ventures on the seas, or of exchange upon the land, or in that larger industrial form which, having taken the handling of tools and matter for its pattern, has drawn in every force in nature, until manufacture means every possible application of force,— all this great intercourse of human want with human skill is a business second only to the business of government itself.

Winthrop naturally led here, as he led in the business of the state. By a beautiful coincidence of nominal dates, pointed out by his descendant, he built and launched the first native vessel whose keel vexed these New England shores after the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, on the fourth of July, 1631. Winthrop's vessel, *The Blessing of the Bay*, of sixty tons' burden, was built at Mistick.¹ She carried the future of this continent in her lading; the possibilities of American citizenship assisted in her navigation. Without ships, no industries; without industries, agriculture would have languished, society would have dwindled, the state would have died. Any reader may pause a moment in the busy career prescribed by our modern industrial life, and while gratitude fills his heart he may let his imagination contemplate this little sloop, carrying, not imperial Cæsar, but the continental destiny of an imperial state. She was rightly named *The Blessing*. The Dove of Peace hovered upon her white-winged sails; ample Ceres nestled in the corn stowed within her narrow hold; the Lares climbed her slight spars, and hung about the smoke of her homely forecastle; every rope of her simple rigging bound the community more closely; while at her helm the genius of her master directed her onward toward a brighter and better future for all mankind.

Builds The
Blessing of
the Bay.

¹ From Winthrop's *Journal, Life, and Let.*, p. 63.

Plymouth had built a "great and strong shallop," which was used in fishing voyages. The Blessing of the Bay was the first seaworthy craft, and was the pioneer of New England commerce. Winthrop notes in his journal, August 31, 1631, that "the bark being of thirty tons went to sea."¹ He does not give her destination (October 4 she "went on a voyage to the eastward"),² and probably soon engaged in the trade with the Dutch at New Amsterdam. The Dutch, as early as 1628, brought goods by the way of Buzzard's Bay and Manomet to Plymouth Colony. Tobacco³ was exchanged for linens and stuffs, until the Virginians furnished it to the Dutch on better terms. The Dutch traded with Salem also. A pinnace brought Virginia corn to Salem in 1631,⁴ and this intercourse was frequent until the home crops were abundant. Winthrop's "bark" certainly went to the Hudson River⁵ in 1633 when she visited Long Island and the Connecticut River. The first commercial intercourse with the Connecticut country, however, was overland. In this year of 1633, John Oldham, the most daring and enterprising of the Indian traders, with three others made a trading expedition thither. They lodged at Indian towns all the way.⁶

The settlement at Richmond Island, off Cape Elizabeth, on the coast of Maine, began foreign commerce very early in our history. It was a trading venture, and an outpost of English trade, rather than a permanent establishment native to the soil. John Winter, the agent of Robert Trelawny and Moses Good-year, merchants of Plymouth, Eng., built a ship at the Island soon after December 1, 1631.⁷ She ran to England, probably the first regular packet between the two worlds.

¹ Winthrop, i. 60.

² *Ibid.*, i. 62.

³ Bradford, *Hist.*, p. 234.

⁴ Winthrop, i. 56.

⁵ Winthrop, i. 112.

⁶ *Ibid.*, i. 111.

⁷ *Proc. Mass. H. S.* 1855-58, p. 183.

She with other vessels carried lumber, fish, furs, oil, and other colonial products; bringing back wines, liquors, guns, ammunition,—the usual contributions of civilisation to its unfortunate barbarian neighbors. In 1638 Winter had 60 men employed there; and Trelawny sent a ship of 300 tons laden with wine and spirits. It was a sporadic colony, and afterward dwindled away.

In 1632 there are many indications that trade is increasing. In the minutes of the Council for New England,¹ at Mason's house in London, fishermen are not to be allowed to trade with the servants of planters. This is a police regulation, but there must have been business where the laborers had commodities enough to justify an interdict. The Rev. John White, of Dorchester, bewailing the spiritual condition of the land, shows that temporal affairs have been pursued with sufficient energy. Great and fundamental errors have been committed, "profit being the chief aim and not the propagation of religion."²

The commercial leaders do not as yet apprehend the fact which John Smith foresaw long ago, that the fisheries would be the main stay of England. Thomas Wiggin, of Bristol, writes to "Master Downing," the brother-in-law of Winthrop, that "staple commodities are what they want there."³ Meanwhile, Winthrop⁴ is sending over £12 for cod lines. Captain Wiggin, on his return to England, reports very favorably upon "the Massachusetts." "The English, numbering about 2,000, and generally most industrious, have done more in three years than others in seven times that space and at a tenth of the expense."⁵

By 1634, Plymouth had established a large trade with

¹ *Cal. Br. St. Pap.* 1574-1660, p. 156.

² *Cal. B. S. P. Col.* p. 156. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

⁴ *Proc. M. H. S.* 1860, p. 127.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

the Dutch, as well as with the Indians of the Connecticut and of Kennebec. In the previous year, Captain Stone, sailing from Virginia for Massachusetts Bay with a cargo of cows and salt, touching at New Amsterdam,¹ finds a Plymouth pinnace at anchor. Scituate had sent the ship William up the Hudson River,² probably to trade for furs. The Indians were supplied with arms and ammunition by irregular traders at many points. Complaints of this illicit trade were frequently sent to England.³

In transacting business with England, responsible planters often drew small bills of credit on their friends and on the merchants. Now, when the exchange of merchandise across the Atlantic almost fills the ocean spaces with the fluttering of the paper evidences of this enormous traffic, it is interesting to note these small beginnings. John Winthrop was drawing frequently on Downing, his brother-in-law, and upon others. In 1630 he draws⁴ in favor of John Revell, for provisions, £21 9s. at fourteen days' sight, and upon his son for 41s. in favor of R. W. Parke.⁵ In 1632 he draws⁶ £12 for twelve dozen cod lines.

Higginson considered the rate of transportation to be high in 1629 at £5 for an adult, £10 for a horse, and £3 for a ton of goods.⁷ But in Kerby's famous shipment to John Winthrop, Jr., by The Lion, of London,⁸ in 1632, the rate named was £4 for a ton of goods.

Toward the end of the century we shall find American commerce seriously vexed by pirates. The first of these roving buccaneers appearing in our history was Dixey

¹ O'Callaghan, *New Neth.*, p. 146.

² Deane, *Scituate*, p. 26.

³ *Cal. B. S. P. Col.* 1574-1660, pp. 122, 140.

⁴ *4 M. H. C.*, vi. 87.

⁵ *Proc. M. H. S.* 1855, p. 257.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1860, p. 127.

⁷ Felt, *An. Salem*, i. 117.

⁸ *Proc. M. H. S.* 1855, p. 27.

Bull, with fifteen or more associates, in this year of 1632. He ravaged Pemaquid¹ and plundered vessels. John Gallop² was employed on the expedition against him. Samuel Maverick³ furnished a pinnace to the colony. Piscataqua⁴ sent four pinnaces and forty men. The coast was thoroughly alarmed, but the game escaped.

The government of England did little for the colonies of New England. In this respect, they were wiser than their great contemporary and adversary, the France of Louis XIV., which did too much. Any state interference in those days was sure to be in the wrong direction and ill-timed. New France was swaddled and coddled, confined and restrained by every kind of spiritual regulation and economic device. New England happily escaped this administrative tinkering and too paternal government.

England fortunately neglects emigration.

Limits on the emigration were proposed but never took practical effect,⁵ though the local authorities could hinder somewhat the export of "portable estates." Henry Dade, in 1634, writes⁶ to the Archbishop of Canterbury of the "ill effects of suffering such swarms to go out of England; trade will be overthrown, and persons indebted will fly into New England and be accounted religious men for leaving the Kingdom, because they cannot endure the ceremonies of the Church."

In the autumn of the same year Gorges suggests that, in sending out a governor, it be considered, "so many discontented persons having got already into the best parts of the country, whether such as would go over should not have license, and be bound to be conformable to the rites and ceremonies of the Church."⁷

Prelacy was then a great political factor, and would look

¹ *Proc. M. H. S.* 1855, p. 186.

² Babson, *Gloucester*, p. 45.

³ Sumner, *E. Boston*, p. 83.

⁴ Adams, *Portsmouth*, p. 20.

⁵ *Cal. B. S. P. Col.* 1574-1600, p. 195.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

after its escaping dependents. When we consider how closely emigration in the past had followed the lines of feudal or church development, how completely it was the creature of the existing state, we see that the exemption of New England from state control was something remarkable. The great results of modern emigration were then unknown and unforeseen. A free emigration seemed impossible in theory. Here as elsewhere, the neglect of administrations opened destiny to that larger providence of history, which has led whole peoples into better ways and into the blessings of freedom.

In 1634 corn advanced to four shillings and sixpence ^{Course of trade.} per bushel; in the winter the currency rate was fixed at five shillings;¹ and 10,000 bushels were imported from Virginia during this year.² The Dove, a pinnace of about fifty tons, came from "Maryland upon Patomack River,"³ to exchange corn for fish and other commodities. Winthrop states that both Plymouth and the Bay "had oft trade"⁴ with the Dutch at the Hudson River. A Dutch ship brought salt and tobacco directly to Marblehead from Christopher's Island in 1635.⁵ Two Dutch schooners brought in 27 Flanders mares at £34 each, 63 heifers at £12, and 88 sheep at 50s.⁶ These Netherland heifers, with the large yellow cattle from Denmark⁷ which Mason sent into Piscataqua, helped to bring up the size of the Devonshire herds of the colony. Ventures are made to the Isle of Sable for sea-horse teeth and oil.⁸

Captain John Mason writes to the Secretary of the Admiralty July 11, 1635,⁹ that the ships trading to New England exceed 40 sail. "Six sail of ships at least, if not

¹ *M. C. R.*, i. 140.

² *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1574-1660, p. xviii.

³ Winthrop, i. 139.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i. 138.

⁶ *Ibid.*, i. 161.

⁷ Adams, *Portsmouth*, p. 23.

⁸ Winthrop, *Jour.*, i. 162.

⁹ *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1660, p. 212.

more, belong to them." The shipbuilding which Winthrop began had been continued, as this statement proves. The *Rebecca*,¹ of 60 tons, was built in Medford in 1633, and she afterward traded in the Connecticut River.² Emanuel Downing wrote to Secretary Coke, in the same year, of Winthrop's ship carpenters: "There is Wil. Stephens, who built the Royal Merchant of 600 tons, so able a shipwright as there is hardly such another to be found in this Kingdom, and two or three others. Is informed that the plantation will next year build ships of any burden."³

This anticipated development of shipbuilding did not come until after 1640, for reasons which will be discussed under that date.

The commerce which sustained the agriculture and internal trade of this period, 1631-35, depended principally upon the fur trade and the fisheries. Contrast of
fisheries and
furs. The two pursuits had very little in common. One partook of the departing barbarism, the other was a sure harbinger of the incoming civilisation. The one, lusty in its occasional prosperity, lean in its certain periods of scarcity, bred the lazy lounger of the trading-post, half savage, half pinchbeck citizen. The other, an uncertain chance combined with industry, made the hardy fisherman and bold sailor of the New England coast. The fur trade debauched the Indian, profiting by a toil not its own, and revelling in the vices of its customers. The fisherman, industrious and capable, more or less interested in his ventures, controlled the seas from the foot-hold in his boat, and mastered individual freedom on the land.

The King and Council, with a discretion singular in all colonial management, had treated the two industries dif-

¹ Winthrop, i. 116.

² Stiles, *Windsor*, p. 27.

³ *Cal. B. S. P. Col.* 1574-1660, p. 158.

ferently. Richelieu¹ had pursued the same course in France. Monopoly was excluded positively from the fisheries. In the charter to the company of adventurers to the Bay, nothing was to "enure to hinder our loving subjects whatsoever to use and exercise the trade of fishing upon that coast of New England, . . . and to build and sett up upon the landes by theis presents graunted such wharfes stages, and worke-houses as shalbe necessarie for the salting drying and packing their fish. And to cut down trees . . . and for all other necessarie easements."²

This was intended to protect the considerable interests of Englishmen fishing in American waters. But it served to institute a wider industry,—the basis of that commercial and economic life which finally wrought the independence of New England.

On the other hand, the fur trade, like the precious metals and gems in all new lands, was expected to yield great returns to the merchants and adventurers who embarked their capital in the hazardous enterprise of colonising "*the Massachusetts.*" Before they left England in 1629, the company voted to the joint stock a privilege of the "trade of ffurs for seven yeare."³

The governor and deputy governor write from London to New England naming beaver at 6s. per pound as exchange in New England for goods from England at thirty per cent. profit with freight.⁴ This attempt to control the currency of beaver at a fixed rate, like so many others, failed. In 1630 "beaver which hath been 6s." is left free.⁵ Nor was the imperial monopoly much more effective in keeping the profits of the trade in particular hands. Much beaver was moving, as we can see it in various channels, but it paid little toll to the representatives of government. In 1632 Morton⁶ quotes

¹ Parkman, *Pioneers F.*, p. 398.

² *M. C. R.*, i. 19.

³ *M. C. R.*, i. 55.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 386.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁶ "N. E. Canaan," *Force, T.*, ii. 53.

beaver at 10s.; and the Bay laid a tax of 12d. in the pound on all beaver bought of all Indians, whether home or foreign.¹ A little later the treasurer is allowed the trade for the year at £25 in lieu of the tax. In 163⁴₅ this tax is repealed, and it is allowed in currency at 10s. per pound. At the same time Pynchon is allowed a drawback of £5 from his agreement to pay £25 for the control of the trade in his district about Springfield.

The Dorchester men opened up the trade with the Connecticut River Indians, and by 1633 quantities of furs were handled in their town.³ It was claimed that the Dutch had received from 10,000 to 15,000 beaver skins annually from New England.⁴ The Dutch struggled hard to keep their trade on the Connecticut. They established three posts in Narragansett,⁵ besides their operations at Manomet on Buzzard's Bay. The trade was costly to the New Netherlands, for it drew the "boere-knechts" away from agriculture.

Plymouth caught the secret of the Indian trade from the Dutch, and began trading at Kennebec ^{Beaver and wampum.} with their wampum currency in 1628. They had some goods from England direct for this traffic, and they obtained more from the English fishing vessels visiting their trading-post.⁶ Their use of the wampum currency enabled them to drive the fishermen from direct traffic with the Indians. Governor Bradford says they sent 20 hhds. in one year, and he gives in detail⁷ their shipments to England from 1631 to 1636, amounting to 12,150*li.* beaver and 1,156*li.* otter. "Sould as appears by leters, the coat beaver usualy at 20s. p^r. pound and some at 24s., the skin at 15s., sometimes 16. I doe not

¹ *M. C. R.*, i. 96, 100.

² *Ibid.*, p. 140, 141.

³ *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 36.

⁴ O'Callaghan, *New Netherland*, pp. 131, 149, citing London Document, and Hazard, *Hist. C.*, i. 397.

⁵ Arnold, *R. I.*, i. 155.

⁶ Bradford, *Hist.*, p. 233.

⁷ Bradford, *Hist.*, p. 346.

remember any under 14. . . . It was conceived that y^e former parcells of beaver came to little less than 10,000*li.* sterling. And y^e otter skins would pay all y^e charges."

We may glance at the scale of prices in New England in 1633, to compare with these rates for beaver. The General Court freed corn, fixed it at 6*s.*, and freed it again in the same year; and leased Noddle's Island to Samuel Maverick for a fat hog, a fat wether, or 40*s.* in money, each year; and Wood quotes¹ four eggs or a quart of milk at a penny, butter at sixpence, with Cheshire cheese at 5*d.* But I give below an extract² from an account kept at Piscataqua April 1, 1633, in beaver; it shows the general currency of these valuable furs.

In 1631 Roger Conant and Peter Palfrey formed a company at Salem "for³ traffic in furs with a truck house at the Eastward." These posts were established wherever furs abounded, and generally became the pioneers of settlements.

Accounts of the early fisheries are meagre. We have seen the experiments at Cape Ann, but Plymouth never succeeded in establishing any extensive commercial fisheries. In the Bay the Dorchester men from western Dorset and Devon led in commercial enterprise. The Boston men developed politics and religion. According to Wood, writing in 1633, Dorchester was "the first that set upon the trade of fishing in the

¹ *N. E. Prospect*, p. 57.

² *Prov. Pap. N. H.*, i. 71. "Beaver disposed on since the first of April 1633. Ip. Pd. the Smith for work, 2 lbs. of beaver and 2 shillings in beaver at 2 several times. Pd. Mr. Dole for 7 gallons of aq. vitæ and spice, beaver 4 lb. Pd. Mr. Luxon for 10 gallons and $\frac{1}{2}$ of venigar, beaver $2\frac{1}{4}$ lb. To Mr. Luxon for $\frac{1}{2}$ a barrell of butter, beaver 1 lb. and 14 oz. For 2 pr. of shoes and 2 axes beaver 1 lb. For 6 gallons of mathiglin, beaver 2 lb. To the taylor for mending blanketts, beaver $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. June 20. For sope, beaver 1 lb. For 7 gallons aq. vitæ, 2 otters and 4 musquosh with stones. For 14 fathoms of wampum, beav. 15 lb & $\frac{3}{4}$ qrs."

³ *Essex Inst.*, i. 102.

bay,"¹ and "at Marblehead was made a ship's loading of fish the last year."² He states, also, that the codfish of this coast are larger than those of Newfoundland; six or seven making a quintal, while fifteen were required on the Banks.

Gorges and Mason started the industry at an early date in the settlement on the Piscataqua. One Godfrie at Little Harbor directed "six³ great shallops, five fishing boats with sails, anchors and cables, and thirteen skiffs."

Cod was the great staple of the industry. The delicious mackerel, since so important, was mainly used at first for bait.⁴ Tradition has it that the hardy Plymouth men waited always for the moonlight to spread their seines. Then the arrowy bodies of the mackerel, mottled in blue and shining in silver, gleamed through the meshes of the nets, lighting the faces of these fisher folk.

Other fish⁵ were cured and eaten, or were exported in small quantities. Salted sturgeon was sent in firkins from Salem,⁶ and appears at other places. Bass and alewives were dried and smoked for export.⁷ Alewives played an important part in nourishing the families of the planters, and in baiting the hooks of the cod-fishermen. The plenty in season, the scarcity when the run of fish was gone, has passed into the myths of a town of the Old Colony. A traveller in the frozen winter, meeting an emaciated villager, asks the name of the place; a weak voice drawls out, "Taunton, Good Lord!" Returning in the genial spring, the sun shining, the streams unlocked, the herring in full run, he meets the same person, now erect, plump, and audacious. To the same question the renovated citizen answers, "Taunton!! and be d—d to you!"

¹ *N. E. Prospect*, p. 42.

² *Ibid.*, p. 50.

³ Adams, *Portsmouth*, p. 18.

⁴ Dean, *Scituate*, p. 24.

⁵ "New E. Plant.," Force, *T.*, p. 9.

⁶ Felt, ii. 210.

⁷ Newhall, p. 127.

The regulation of the weirs for entrapping them was an important matter in all the towns whose streams let these fish up from the sea. In 1634 the General Court grants to Israel Stoughton a "myll, ware & bridge over Naponsett,"¹ with the privilege of selling "alewyves" at 5s. per thousand. In 1635-36, Cambridge records an arrangement, — the type of many fishing regulations and of the communal principle of government already treated. John Clarke is to make a sufficient weir to catch alewives, selling them "to the inhabitants of the town and no other, except for bait at iii⁶ per thousand."²

Andrew Warner is to "fetch home the alewives from the weir; and he is to have XVI.^a a thousand, and load them himself, for carriage; and to have power to take any man to help him, he paying of him for his work."

A few years later we shall see the fishermen favored by especial exemptions under the general statute. Fishermen
favored by
statute. They were always encouraged more or less, and recognised as a vital element in productive industry. Salem, in 1635, to "avoid the inconvenience found by granting of land for fishermen to plow," provided "a howse lott and a garden lott or ground for the placing of the flakes, according to the company belonging to their families, the greatest family not above two acres and the common of the woods neer adioyning for their goates and their cattle."³ A few years later we shall see especial exemptions to fishermen under general statutes.

We now come to a point where the bolder and more far-seeing of the colonists perceived that the Capital
needed. fishing industry was capable of great enlargement, and that it would surely lift these colonies from mere plantations into industrial and commercial com-

¹ *M. C. R.*, i. 114.

² Paige, *Cambridge*, pp. 38, 39.

³ Felt, ii. 211; and Roads, *Marblehead*, p. 12.

munities. The parsons were represented here, as in all our positive social movements. The restless and enterprising Hugh Peter went about "to raise up men to a public frame of spirit, and so prevailed, as he procured a good sum of money to be raised to set on foot the fishing business and wrote into England to raise as much more."¹ Winthrop complains that the merchants and seamen — meaning the English fishing vessels, probably — charged excessive profits, often one hundred per cent., on the supplies needed for these ventures.

The economic needs could not be satisfied by such palliatives. The same year the General Court² appointed Dudley and five others to manage "a fisheing trade" for the account of "fishing stocke." The customary result of governmental productive enterprises followed; for in 1638 a loss of £100 16s. 3d. is allowed by the Court "in courtesy."

Mather records in the "Magnalia" that a minister was addressing the men of Marblehead, appealing to them as pure disciples of the kingdom of heaven, seeking that to the exclusion of all earthly blessings. An old fisherman answered back, "You think you are preaching to the people at the Bay. Our main end was to catch fish." The story may not be true in word, but it embodied a fact. Commerce, beginning in furs, had now established itself firmly upon the fisheries. Lumber helped, in this year of 1635. R. Williams, the "clapboard-cleaver at Saco," had at his death clapboards to the value of £164 8s. 4d.³ But the main trade was in fish.

Winthrop in 1636 notes⁴ the building at Marblehead of The Desire, a ship of 120 tons.⁵ She was ^{Shipbuild-} employed in fishing for more than two years.⁶

¹ Winthrop, i. 176.

² M. C. R., i. 158, 230.

³ Folsom, *S. and Biddeford.*, p. 37.

⁴ Winthrop, i. 193.

⁵ Lechford, in his *Note Book*, p. 262 gives a transaction in which an old boat of "seaven tun or thereabout," was sold for £25.

⁶ Roads, *Marblehead*, p. 11.

The colony at Connecticut was founded, and Pynchon¹ writes to John Winthrop, Jr., that he is sending him freight by "the Blessinge" — our pioneer vessel — at 35s. per ton to the river mouth. Adam Winthrop,² as well as Pynchon, mentions the "Bacheldor," a bark plying between Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut River. About this date Salem built large-decked shallops of twenty or thirty tons, and perhaps ketches for fishing and trading.³

Capitalists and merchants have similar troubles in all ages. Pynchon gives us a glimpse of some in his time. "As for vsing ould traders to trade for you; it is not the best way for your gaine: for they know how to save themselves; but a trusty man that never was a trader will quickly find the way of trading, & bring you best profit."⁴

Bermuda potatoes began their northern trips as early as this year. Thomas Mayhew, the younger Winthrop's partner, in a venture thither, accounts for them at 2d.; corn at 9s. per bu.; pork £10 per hogshead; oranges and lemons, 20s. per C; and they made on the voyage "twenty od pounds."⁵

The plague in London affects the exchanges, for beaver⁶ fell below 8s. per pound in that market. The towns generally appointed⁷ one or more persons to supervise the trade in beaver. Duxbury⁸ appointed such a commission in 1637.

The commercial affairs of New England are of sufficient importance to attract more and more notice from the government at home. Nothing came of a proposition in 1638 to establish a post-office here, "so useful and absolutely necessary,"⁹ with postage at 2d. a letter. Archibald Henderson, a merchant, urges upon the Council the

¹ 4 *M. H. C.*, vi. 369.

² 5 *M. H. C.*, viii., 219.

³ *Essex Inst.*, i. 139.

⁴ 4 *M. H. C.*, vi. 371.

⁵ 4 *M. H. C.*, vii. 31.

⁶ Bradford, *Hist.*, p. 344.

⁷ Shattuck, *Concord*, p. 162.

⁸ Winsor, p. 84.

⁹ *Cal. B. S. P. Col.* 1574-1660, p. 275

imposition of customs on the produce of New England. He states that 100 vessels¹ are engaged in trading with foreign countries in commodities which England needs for her own consumption.

The West Indies needed the grain, pork, fish, and other solid food products of our colonies, together with pipe-staves and lumber. The returns were in tropical products, which rendered colonial life more easy and comfortable. We have seen the results of the younger Winthrop's venture there. This year the governor licenses² his son Stephen and William Goose, master of the ship Sparrow of Boston, of fifty tons, with seven persons, to sail to the Summer Islands or the Bermudas and to trade there. Our old friend The Desire left fishing, and after a seven months' voyage returns to Salem³ from Providence, W. I., with cotton, tobacco, and negroes, and with salt from the Tortugas. The intercourse with Providence Island⁴ was important. Commerce followed its natural channels, but would not always go where it was desired and expected. New Haven had wealthy and experienced merchants among her settlers. They built "fair and stately houses,"⁵ which were better than any of the period. They intended to carry on a large commerce, but they could not compete with the eastern colonies, or afterwards with Rhode Island. Milford, in Connecticut,⁶ sent vessels, with beaver and other furs to Boston, and afterwards built vessels.

The plantation at Richmond Island, Maine, in 1639, did a vigorous business in pipe-staves, beaver, fish, and oil. John Winter, Trelawny's son - in - law and agent, had more than sixty men employed there. Trelawny at Plymouth employed five ships,⁷ the Richmond, Hercules, Margery, Agnes, and one other, running to the Island.

¹ *Cul. B. S. P. Col.* 1574-1660, p. 275.

² Lechford, *Note Book*, p. 46.

⁴ *Cal. B. S. P. Col.* 1574-1660, p. 296.

⁶ *New Hav. H. C.*, ii. 201.

³ Felt, *Annals S.*, ii. 230.

⁵ Hubbard, p. 334.

⁷ *Maine H. C.*, i. 14.

Some shipments were made directly to Spain.¹ The transactions were small, but when successful the percentage of profit was large. The bark Richmond, of thirty tons, carried 6,000 pipe-staves to England, costing at the island £8.8 per thousand. Winter's share cost £6.14.3½, and yielded him £26.17. The vessel was employed in England, and one tenth of her "hull, rigging and provision" was estimated at £20.²

The emigration from England was now large, and it is probable that the passenger ships could obtain sufficient cargoes of freight in New England to return either by the West Indies, or by Portugal and Gibraltar. For we find the English merchants trading to Spain, etc., representing to the Privy Council that "the kingdom is deprived of much trade, the king of much custom, and many ships and seamen of employment, through the proclamation forbidding ships to go to New England without special warrant."³

Licenses for passengers are granted, but those for goods and provisions are referred to the Lord Treasurer, and notice is given that similar orders will be issued whenever ships are ready. January 17th and 19th following,⁴ seven vessels are cleared with passengers and provisions, one carrying 250 emigrants. Our home-built Desire and Sparrow appear among them.

The price of pipe-staves cited above at £8.8 was not the same everywhere, for Lechford⁵ records a contract for the delivery of 7,000 at Piscataqua at £18 per M. Probably one price was for barter, and the other for a good currency. In this year John Oldham, an enterprising trader killed by the Indians, leaves an estate, involved in debts amounting to £504.09.3, while the assets are only £136.6.9.⁶

¹ Willis, *Portland*, p. 41.

² *Maine H. C.*, i. 225.

³ *Cal. B. S. P. Col.* 1574-1660, p. 287.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 307.

⁵ Lechford, *Note Book*, p. 92.

⁶ Lechford, *Note Book*, p. 43.

The fisheries are coming to be recognised as the great productive industry and a public interest of prime importance.¹ To encourage them, the General Court² exempts the "vessels and stock" from all country charges for seven years. Ship carpenters and millers, with fishermen in the fishing season, are excused from military training. Bass and cod must be kept for food, and their use in manuring the land is prohibited. Even sturgeon were of consequence, for we find an especial partnership³ for taking and curing them between "David Offley, Gent of Boston, and Samuel Hosier, planter of Watertown." The fish are to be sold at Yarmouth, N. E., or elsewhere.

Mackerel⁴ were very abundant and fine this year. One boat with three men would take ten hhd. in a week, which would sell in Connecticut at £3.12 per hhd.

Winthrop⁵ mentions a station established this year at Cape Ann by Maurice Tonson, a London merchant. Lechford⁶ speaks of it 1641⁰ as "set forward and some stages builded." Canoes⁷ were used on the Massachusetts coast; they even carried wood in them by sea.

We shall soon pass into another period of commercial development, beginning with 1640, and growing out of new industrial life, which will be treated in that connection. Before cargoes of fish and lumber in home-built ships were exported so freely, beaver and other furs were relatively very important as currency and in exchange. Furs were sought at all the Indian trading-posts, by trade if profitable, by extortion if necessary. The Mohawks paid the English 20 beaver skins⁸

¹ Winthrop, *Journal*, i. 307.

² *M. C. R.*, i. 258.

³ Lechford, *Note Book*, p. 104.

⁴ Winthrop, p. 308.

⁵ Winthrop, i. 307.

⁶ "Plain Dealing," 2 *M. H. C.*, iii. 99.

⁷ "Winthrop Papers," 5 *M. H. C.*, viii. 34.

⁸ O'Cal., *New Neth.*, p. 332. "Prior to 1642 the price of a mchtable beaver, wh averaged about an ell square, was six hands

for a musket, and 10 to 12 guilders for a pound of gunpowder.¹ We have seen how attempts to regulate prices failed in the more settled parts of the colonies. On the frontiers there could be no control, but they tried to police the trade. Winter was indicted several times for misdemeanors in Trelawny's business at Richmond Isle. It was proved² that he bought brandy at £7 sterling per hhd., and retailed it at 20 pence per quart, or £33 a hhd. He held the rate of beaver at 6s. per lb., which was the lowest rate prevailing anywhere.

In 1641³ the General Court appointed a committee to have the fur and wampum trade, and it was enjoined to take wampum for £25 per annum from Harvard College for three years.

Boston appointed Gibbons and three others to trade with the Indians 1641.⁴

Rhode Island was obliged to free the Indian trade⁵ from government control in 1640, though North Kingston had a monopoly in 1643, and permits the export of a ship-load of pipe-staves and clapboards. Connecticut would try the seas, and encourages a voyage to the West Indies for cotton wool.

The first bark built in the colony of Plymouth in 1641 cost £200.⁶ The bark Speedwell was sold
Prices of vessels. in 1640 for £40.⁷ In Boston the paternal government supervises wharfage, portage, and storage.⁸

or fathoms of wampum." Rates soon advanced to 7, 7½, 9, 10 fath. white wamp. for each skin at Rensselaerswyck. Price fixed by authority, 9 fath. white, 4½ blk.

¹ O'Callaghan, *New Neth.*, p. 222. ² *Maine H. C.*, i. 34.

³ *M. C. R.*, i. 322.

⁵ *R. I. C. R.*, i. 74, 80.

⁴ *Bos. Town Rec.*, p. 65.

⁶ *Mass. H. C.*, iv. 99.

⁷ See full accounts in Lechford's *Note Book*, p. 279. And for charter party ship Green Lyon, see p. 321. And for ketch "Endevor," see p. 362. For a lighter of 20 tons, see p. 374.

⁸ *Mass. Arch.* ix. 61.

The dock-builder goes to the General Court for detailed prices of all these services. The Court¹ tries to cultivate commerce by defining wheat to be a "staple commodity" for export. It forbids the bakers to use such a valuable article. Massachusetts is alarmed by the reports of Spanish privateers cruising along the coast from Virginia northward. The governor commissions² a captain to go in search of them.

The fisheries increase, and 300,000 dry fish are sent to market this year.³ Ipswich⁴ favors them especially. The General Court overrules in their favor the town privileges which are guarded so jealously. In all the towns the inhabitants had the best rights to the fish at the established weirs. But the Court in a general act⁵ gives to fishermen the first privilege of fish for bait at regular prices at the weirs. The grant⁶ by the same authority for a plantation at Nantasket shows the method of conducting the business. Room for the stages and flakes for drying is provided on the shore, and four acres of upland is assigned to each boat, with meadow land for cattle. Mackerel fishing at its "chiefe time" in September is mentioned by Lechford⁷ in 1640. It was a small interest compared with the taking of cod, but it grew with the greater fishery, and shared its importance.

Parliamentary England now went beyond the king in granting free commerce to New England. The act⁸ passed this year, 1642, frees every vessel from any "custom or other duty either inward or outward, either in this kingdom or New England." This decree encouraged commerce directly, and affected it favorably in various ways. It is said that immigrants, few in number, but of a superior class, were induced to

Parliament
encourages
New Eng-
land.

¹ *M. C. R.*, i. 337.

² *Ibid.*, 64, 89.

³ Winthrop, ii. 42.

⁴ Felt.

⁵ *M. C. R.*, i. 328.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 326.

⁷ Lechford, *Note Book*, pp. 418, 420.

⁸ *Mass. Arch.*, ix. 23. Savage records it in 1643; Win., ii. 98.

come over by the prospective advantages offered. Newbury¹ received five or six wealthy and educated English merchants, who embarked in foreign trade. Wherever these men settled, they initiated enterprise and benefited the country. The narrow-minded Johnson, even, could perceive the lack of merchants in the business of Gloucester.

We see the effect of the act as well as the enlargement of commerce through the new industrial activity at home. Apparently the first indigo and sugar were imported in 1639.² A Dutch ship of 300 tons brings a cargo of salt from the West Indies³ this year, which she exchanges for plank and pipe-staves. The next year 11 vessels sailed from New England for the West Indies with lumber.⁴

We are now, in 1642, launched upon the period which begins the true commercial prosperity of the New England colonies. Indian corn, perhaps the most important currency of this period, shows the change to a more stable basis of prices. The price was often 5s. to 6s. per bushel before 1641. It was fixed in the rates for taxes at 5s. in 1637,⁵ and losses were rebated at 3s. 6d. to some who had received it. In 1640⁶ the rate was 4s., but in the next year several parties were allowed 1s. per bushel, having to pass it at 3s. In 1642⁷ the rate fell to 2s. 6d., and until the paper inflation began, toward the end of the century, the price seldom went above 3s. At the same time⁸ the Holland ducat, equal to 3 guilders, was fixed by law at 6s., the rixdollar at 5s., and Spanish pieces of 8 at 5s. The term of artificial inflation, the era of high prices caused by constant immigration, had passed ; the period of exchange in solid values had come.

¹ Coffin, p. 35 ; Smith, p. 17.

² *M. H. C.*, i. 9, 10 ; iv. 99.

³ *Mass. Arch.*, lx. 1.

⁴ *Mass. Arch.*, lxiv. 89.

⁵ *M. C. R.*, i. 200.

⁶ *M. C. R.*, i. 304, 330, 338.

⁷ *Ibid.*, ii. 27.

⁸ *Ibid.*, ii. 29.

Winthrop¹ notes the arrival of two ships from England, bringing "very few goods except rigging, etc., for some ships which were building here."

Commerce no longer depended on the fluctuating chances of English ventures, but went forward steadily, exchanging fish, lumber, and home-built vessels for the wares needed for the comfort of our growing communities.

Ships are building not only at Boston and Salem, but at Dorchester,² Gloucester,³ and other towns. William Stevens, the shipwright whose fame extended to both hemispheres, was employed at Gloucester in 1643. This town gives especial privileges to shipbuilders, and such was the common practice wherever the industry could be promoted. Four home-built vessels⁴ are sent out this year.

The trade with the Dutch assumed such proportions that a special act⁵ was passed to regulate the currency of their coin. The enterprising traders of New Haven vied with the Dutch for the Indian trade on the South River (Delaware). New Amsterdam issued an order⁶ restraining them, especially George Lamberton, and the English threatened reprisals.

The return of The Trial in 1643 from her first voyage gives us a view of the commerce with the West Indies, the most important of this period. She was the first ship built at Boston,—completed in 1642,—and Winthrop states her tonnage once at 200 tons, and again at 160.⁷ She was commanded by Thomas Coytemore, a gentleman of good estate, who had been a deputy in 1640. After his death his widow married Governor Winthrop. His first outward port was Fayal, where he found an "extraordinary good market"⁸ for his pipe-

¹ *Journal*, ii. 74.

² *Hist. Dor.*, p. 170.

³ Babson, p. 187.

⁴ Winthrop, ii. 88.

⁵ *M. C. R.*, ii. 29.

⁶ *Doc. Col. N. Y.*, xii. 24.

⁷ Winthrop, ii. 75, 154.

⁸ Winthrop, ii. 94.

staves and fish. He took wine, sugar, etc., and sailed for St. Christopher's, in the West Indies, where he traded a part of his wine for cotton, tobacco, etc., and for iron saved by the islanders from wrecked vessels. Under a license from the governor he conducted submarine operations, receiving one half of the property recovered. He worked with a "diving tub," and carried home 50 guns with anchors and cables. He sold a part of his cargo for gold and silver, and the whole result, "through the Lord's blessing," was a good voyage, making wine, sugar, and cotton "very plentiful and cheap." Cotton, sugar, and wine were more plentiful in the warmer climes, but the robust fishermen of New England could possess them through their industry and enterprise. The well-wrought anchors and cables lay dead at the bottom of the West Indian harbors until the bold and restless sons of the North brought them into a new life of service in the world's commerce.

The Trial sailed again,¹ under Thomas Graves, "an able and a godly man," to Bilboa, where she found a good market for her fish, then took in a freight for Malaga. She returned to Boston after a successful voyage, laden with wine, fruit, oil, iron, and wool. She sailed immediately to trade with La Tour along the Eastern coast towards Canada.

The little village under the three hills is gathering strength, and is fast stretching its commercial feelers into the great trading world beyond the cold coasts of the North Atlantic. In one day in 1643 five ships sail from Boston. Three were native-built, two being of 300 tons² and one of 160. One of these went to the old home,—sailing for London,— "with many passengers, men of chief rank in the country, and great store of beaver."

The dark canoes of Chickataubut and his red sons no longer hold the waters of the Bay. The gray seas are

¹ Winthrop, ii. 154.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 150.

lighted and cheered by the white sails of European vessels seeking the increasing riches of the New World. The traffic is sufficient to justify the General Court¹ in collecting a tax of 6d. per ton on all foreign vessels at the Castle.

The resources and enterprising courage of the Boston merchants appear now in their operations with ^{La Tour and} Charles de la Tour, of Acadia, in New France. ^{D'Aulnay.}

La Tour and D'Aulnay were commissioned as lieutenants to the Chevalier Rasilli, governor of Acadia. La Tour was to administer the country east of the St. Croix, while D'Aulnay controlled the district claimed by the French west of that river. They quarrelled, fought, and La Tour came to Boston to enlist Massachusetts and Plymouth in his cause.² D'Aulnay was an ardent Catholic. La Tour was or pretended to be a Huguenot. Moreover, D'Aulnay was nearer, and came in conflict with the Plymouth men in their Penobscot trading settlements. The Massachusetts colony was divided in sentiment concerning the dangerous policy of assisting one Frenchman against the other. They decided that no action could be taken by the government, but allowed individuals to furnish La Tour with ships, men, and supplies. Governor Winthrop and the merchants favored, while Endicott, the younger Richard Saltonstall, and others, warmly opposed, this interference. Governor Edward Winslow transferred the Plymouth interests at Penobscot to John Winthrop, Jr., Edward Gibbons, and Thomas Hawkins. Winthrop³ says that the merchants leased, for two months, four ships and a pinnace, manned and equipped, to La Tour. The contract⁴ for the

¹ *M. C. R.*, ii. 64.

² For a full account see *Mem. H. Bos.*, i. 282-295.

³ Winthrop, ii. 127.

⁴ Hazard, *H. C.*, i. 499, from *Suffolk County Rec.*, Lib. No. 1, Fo. 7, 1643. Edward Gibbons and Thomas Hawkins "lett to freight" to "Mounseir La Tour, the Shipp Seabridge with a Master and fower-teene able Seamen, and a boy, with fowerteene peece Ordnance, etc.

three larger vessels is made by Edward Gibbons and Thomas Hawkins. They took no security except his personal promises to pay. Two years later, La Tour's fort was captured in his absence; his wife, who had been active in the war, died in captivity, and all his property and valuables were plundered. Gibbons alone lost £2,500, and very heavy debts were left in Boston. In 1650 or 1651, D'Aulnay died, and La Tour married his widow in 1652. Whether the public war was commuted into domestic strife, we do not know. The restless La Tour disappears from colonial politics and business. We hear no more of this meteoric Frenchman, who had been a perturbing comet in colonial affairs for some years. He left the traces of his eccentric passages furrowed deep in the profit and loss columns of the Boston ledgers.

The whole episode is significant, interesting, and hardly to be comprehended at this day from the records we have. The sagacious Winthrop would not have encouraged a business so uncertain and hazardous without good reason. In the quasi-public action of the colonists, there was first the political motive urging them forward. They dreaded the proximity of the encroaching French, and the experience of the next century justified their apprehension. Then a passionate propaganda incited them to save the souls of Indians and neighbors from the religion of "idolaters." More than all, enterprise,—the spirit of mercantile adventure,—inflamed by and in turn inflaming our native territorial lust, impelled the Boston men to risk

"the Shipp Philip and Mary, Master, fowerteene seamen, and a boy, and ten peece of ordnance, etc, with tackle, apparell, and victuals.

"the Shipp Increase, Master, twelve able seamen, boy, tenn peece ordinance and shott, &c.

"the Shipp Greyhound, compleatly fitted with fower murderers, powder and shott, a master and seven able seamen," etc.

Mons. La Tour contracts to pay for the same "five hundred and twenty (520) pounds starling per moneth in Peltrey at the prize currant at Bos."

their hard-won capital in these perilous schemes. They lost, but the same spirit brought success, profit, and riches in other fields.

Meanwhile the commerce of the settlements on the Connecticut is increasing, and we have an account of the building of the Long Wharf¹ at New Haven in 1644. The Court² also adjusts the charges upon vessels passing the fort at Saybrook with Fenwick. Massachusetts and Plymouth complain of a surplus of grain. Connecticut³ grants a monopoly of purchase for export at 4s. for wheat, 3s. for rye, 3s. for peas, to Edward Hopkins, William Whiting, and others. The object was to encourage these merchants to send their grain into foreign markets.

Captain Stagg⁴ convulsed Boston and Charlestown by seizing a Bristol ship at the latter port, but the consequences of the action were political rather than commercial.

This year of 1645 brings many evidences that our commercial relations are extending everywhere. The Indian and fur trade was still important, and was being pushed into more remote regions. Johnson⁵ notes that at Springfield, which had been one of the best points for beaver, the over-competition of the traders had spoiled the market, and had forced them to turn their attention to husbandry. Sir Richard Saltonstall and others petition⁶ for a monopoly of trading posts at points further north than those already established. In the previous year, the Bay had entertained a proposition from the Commissioners of the United Colonies to form a great stock company with the monopoly and control of the Indian trade for ten years. No such association was formed.

The fish, lumber, and other civilised products of the

¹ *New Haven H. C.*, i. 86.

² *Conn. C. R.* 1644, p. 120.

³ *Conn. C. R.* 1644, p. 116.

⁴ *Winthrop*, ii. 181.

⁵ *W. Work. Prov.*, p. 199.

⁶ *Mass. Arch.*, cxix. 6.

soil and of industry were making a much larger market than furs could furnish. The wines of the Western Islands, of Portugal and Spain, which Coytmore
wine trade. and his successors brought into the colonies half paralysed by the stoppage of immigration, found ready consumers. The demand was so great that we find the English vessels bringing in "about 800¹ butts." Winthrop's date may not define the exact year. For in 1645 there was "great scarcity of wine," and Eliot speaks of a gracious "awakening the land, to consider the excesse y^t hath here bene that way."² The Court recognised the importance of the trade by laying a "duty of 10d. for every butt of sack and 2 shillings 6 pence for every hogshead of French wine and so on in proportion."³ Parliament freed the colonies from all customs "except the excise" on products exported in English vessels. In return Massachusetts freed the parliament ships from the charge of sixpence per ton, "and good reason, for by that order we might have gotten 20 or 30 p. this year and by the ordce. of parl^t we saved 3 or 400 pounds."⁴ Chalmers considers this a forerunner of the Navigation Acts.

An order⁵ made the harbor of Boston free to all foreign vessels which paid ordinary port charges.⁶ Vessels were inspected to ascertain that they carried away no powder without a license.⁷

A literature has accumulated concerning negro slavery in New England; the treatment varies according to the perspective of the larger question of slavery in the United States, at the time the writers formed their views. It appears that the first two negroes brought here by one

¹ Winthrop, ii. 268. ² Roxbury Rec., Bos. City Doc., p. 189.

³ Mass. Arch., lx. 24. ⁴ Winthrop, ii. 236. ⁵ Mass. Arch., lx. 22.

⁶ These were tonnage dues of 6d. per ton in mdse. and 10s. for the fort. English ships were to pay no customs, but paid 6s. 8d. under 200 tons, 10s. above, to the fort. M. C. R., ii. 131.

⁷ Mass. Arch., lx. 89.

James Smith¹ and his mate Keyser were returned to their home in Guinea by order of the magistrates.² Smith's ship and crew had been engaged with some London sailors in a marauding party in Guinea, which had murdered many natives. It would seem that this scandal influenced the return of the negroes more than any moral aversion to slavery at this time. Probably there was very little wholesome sentiment in the matter of slavery. They had enslaved Indians whenever they could, and negroes soon begin to appear in the inventories³ as slaves.

George Downing — afterward Sir George, then a clergyman — writes to John Winthrop from the West Indies : "If you go to Barbados, you will see a flourishing Island, many able men. I believe they have bought this year no lesse than a thousand negroes, and the more they buie, the better able they are to buye, for in a yeare and and halfe they will earne (with God's blessing) as much as they cost."⁴

This needs no comment, and being written by Winthrop's nephew, a graduate of the first class at Harvard, it reflects fairly the feeling of the time. Smith and Keyser's vessel was fitted out by her Boston owners for a voyage to Guinea to trade in negroes, — to supply the demand in the West Indies probably. Smith was a church member.

Winthrop⁵ reports our old friend, The Trial, from London, with a cargo of useful commodities. About "ten ships more" came in, including our own Endeavor, of

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, lx. 144.

² Winthrop, ii. 244.

³ About 1650, in Mr. Chester's inventory at Hartford there is "a neager Maide £25." *Hartford Co. Prob. Rec.*, vol. ii.

In 1657 Robert Keayne leaves "2 negros and a negro child" valued at £30. *Suffolk Prob. R.*, iii. 105.

In 1661 John Hanniford leaves "a negro boy servant" valued at £20. *Suffolk P. R.*, 33, 34.

⁴ *4 Mass. H. C.*, vi. 536.

⁵ Winthrop, ii. 236.

Cambridge, with "linen, woolen, shoes, stockings," etc. Some of the ships took pay in wheat, rye, peas, etc., making the export of grain for the year 20,000 bu.

The foreign ventures did not always succeed. Stephen Winthrop¹ complains to his father of a bad market in Teneriffe for his provisions and fish. A shipment of fish from Trelawny's plantation at Richmond Island to Bilboa is quoted 14 quintals at £14.² A ship of 400 tons was built at Boston, heavily armed, and ornamented in the best style of the time.³

The contract for the voyage of The Planter,⁴ a vessel of 35 tons, is interesting as a specimen of the operations with La Tour. Samuel Maverick, of Noddle's Island, agent for Sir David Kirke, governor of Newfoundland, leases the vessel to sail for three months between Capes Sable and Breton. The owner fits it for the voyage at an expense of about £500, and La Tour is to return one half of all the peltry and merchandise he may obtain.

This year of 1646 is marked by the loss of a New Haven ship of 100 tons, another account⁵ says Prodigy at New Haven. 150, with seventy persons, many of "very precious account," and a valuable cargo. Lamberton commanded her. Disturbances in the natural world ushered in this extraordinary event. Circles⁶ and lights about the noonday sun, three suns at evening, two in the morning, the coldest winter known, a calf born with three mouths at Ipswich,—all these portents manifested clearly to the mind of the seventeenth century providential displeasure and coming disaster. The fact that she was "very crank-sided," and laden with peas, wheat, 200 West India hides, beaver, and plate (to the value of £5,000),—the grain being all in bulk,—did not so much affect their judgment of the causes of the occurrence.

¹ 5 *M. H. C.*, viii. 201.

² *Maine H. C.*, i. 227.

³ Winthrop, ii. 239.

⁴ Sumner, *E. Boston*, p. 82.

⁵ Atwater, *New Haven*, p. 42.

⁶ Winthrop, ii. 254.

The tradition¹ was, that Lamberton's ship was seen the next June at about sunset after a thunder storm. The wondering and bereaved people saw the phantom shape, with canvas set and colors flying, sailing from the same harbor whence she had been dragged painfully through thick ice in the preceding winter. The ship² was built at Rhode Island, and this is one of the first evidences of the growing commerce of that colony.

One of our resources at this period was in the flow of silver from the West Indies. This specie came partly through regular channels of trade already indicated, and partly through the half-piratical operations of buccaneers or privateers preying upon the rich Spanish commerce. New England was a convenient mart for expending the money and goods these rovers obtained so easily. Bradford³ notices Captain Cromwell's visit after a lucky cruise at Plymouth, for four to six weeks, when he went to Boston with three ships and eighty men. "They spente and scattered a great deale of money among ye people, and yet more sine (I fear) then money." The expedition belonged to the Earl of Warwick, who sent a power of attorney to Adam Winthrop, David Yale, Anthony Stoddard, and Benjamin Gillam, merchants of Boston, to recover "goods of great value" detained by Captain Cromwell.⁴ He requested the favor of these substantial citizens in securing his property.

The Old Colony was far behind the Bay in commercial development, but she had life enough to attract these gay buccaneers. There was shipbuilding at Scituate. This town sent vessels to trade on the coast with the natives, and into the larger business in Europe and the West Indies. In a schooner of 80 tons trading for peltry on the

¹ *Hist. New Haven*, p. 42.

² Atwater, *New Haven*, p. 219.

³ *Hist. Plymouth*, p. 441.

⁴ *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1574-1660, p. 327.

coast by Cape Sable, the value of the cargo is £1,000.¹ Pipe-staves, sent to the wine-producing countries, are a most important export, and the Court appoints viewers to inspect them in all the towns.² Massachusetts General Court farms the customs of wine to Messrs. Sedgwick and Russell for four years at £120 per annum.³ In 1647 Johnson⁴ reports "everything in the country proved a staple commodity," and the building of ships "going on gallantly." The Marblehead catch of fish alone

They build ships "gallantly." amounts to £4,000, for the season.⁵ Deputy

governor Goodyear writes of the New Haven commerce with Barbadoes to Governor Stuyvesant, of New Amsterdam. Lieutenant Budd sold his house in New Haven for a hogshead of sugar. West India sugar made one of the exchanges with Europe, as well as beaver. The New Haven merchants sent these articles to London by the way of Boston. The returns were re-shipped at Boston for Connecticut.⁶

A curious mixture of pious emotion with the hard facts of trade and industry runs through the letters and records of these ingenuous and simple-minded people. Stephen Winthrop writes home from St. Christopher's that he has sold the wine; the simple statement of fact is not enough: he adds, "blessed bee God, well sold."⁷

Danforth's Almanac for 1648 embodies the same abounding spirit which Johnson commemorated last year.

Danforth's ample list. The poor immigrants in less than a score of years had turned barrenness into abundance, and uncertain want into constant plenty. A thoroughly realistic jingle of commodities brings comfort to the ear at this remote day. "Heaps of wheat, pork, bisket, beef and beer. Masts, pipe-staves, fish, should store both far

¹ *M. C. R.*, ii. 520.

² *M. C. R.*, ii. 169.

³ *Ibid.*, ii. 142.

⁴ *W. Work. Prov.*, p. 207.

⁵ Felt, *Salem*, ii. 212.

⁶ Atwater, *New Haven*, pp. 205, 207.

⁷ *M. H. C.*, viii. 237.

and near, which fetch in wines, cloths, sweets and good tobac."

Thomas Gainer voyages to Madeira, Fayal, St. Christopher's, and other ports in the ship Planter, on joint third interests with William Ting and Val. Hill. The accounts are disputed, showing an outlay of £2,770.10.05, and receipts £2,079.18.07, deficit £690.11.10. The use of the vessel is charged at £150 per mo. for 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ mo. In adjudicating, the General Court¹ allows £500 more, and some small items to the credit side of the account, so that the venture comes out with only a small loss.

We do not know the size of the vessel, nor the weight of the Indian slave exchanged at Newbury, or we could rate the colonial value of these works of nature and of art more accurately. In 1649 William Hilton "sells to George Carr for one quarter part of a vessel, James my Indian."²

The business of exchange between the markets, both domestic and foreign, was more complicated than modern methods would indicate. Massachusetts, Connecticut, the West Indies, Newfoundland, and London, were all in one circuit, and liable to exchange one with another, partly by sale and partly by barter. Adam Winthrop³ writes to John the younger that he could have procured him the bill of exchange desired if the pay had been all in wheat and malt. But "the butcher," John's debtor, is to pay in peas and butter, "not so current at this time." This latter produce he says will be good enough to procure a bill (on London probably) by the way of Newfoundland, in the spring.

Course of
the ex-
changes.

"Here are three ships for London in one day,"⁴ says Winthrop the previous year. Notwithstanding these fortuitous arrivals at that time, they sent letters to London

¹ *M. C. R.*, ii. 247, 248.

² Coffin, *Newbury*, p. 337.

³ *M. H. C.*, viii. 226.

⁴ Winthrop, ii. 391.

by Barbadoes, so frequent was the intercourse with that quarter. Barbadoes took many horses, and the Bay forbids the export of mares.¹

Commerce and shipbuilding were extending upward on the Connecticut River. The Court² grants the Connecticut shipbuilding. "owners of the Shipp at Wethersfeild" the privilege of making pipe-staves enough to freight her on the first voyage.

Turkish corsairs troubled the colonists frequently. A vessel in 1643³ from New Haven, — "commended to the Lord's protection by the church there," — for the Canaries, with clapboards, had a severe encounter near Majorca and beat off the Turk. Almost all the freighting vessels carried a few guns and small-arms. In 1644 an expedition was fitted out⁴ to cruise against Turkish rovers.

Later in the century we shall hear more of European and American adventurers turned pirates and preying on colonial vessels. In 1649 Roger Williams⁵ writes to Governor Winthrop of Bluefield and his crew of Frenchmen, "flushed with blood," coming into Newport Vessels in Newport. with a prize. They bargained for a "frigate of Capt. Clarke," claiming that they would sail for the West Indies. The authorities refused to allow the sale, fearing that the pirates would attack our coastwise commerce.

These transactions show that Newport had, with her neighbor Portsmouth, quickly attained considerable importance as a commercial port. We have seen that she built a ship for New Haven in 1646. That she could market prizes, and furnish forth a frigate at short notice, shows that her maritime interests were well under way at this early date.

¹ *M. C. R.*, iii. 169.

² *Conn. C. R.* 1649, p. 200.

³ Winthrop, ii. 124.

⁴ Felt, *Salem*, i. 194.

⁵ *Narragansett Club*, vi. 188, 196.

We can see the growth of that larger public spirit, which commerce compels, if we study the complaints of Johnson. He details¹ in 1650 the abundance within, stimulated by exchange from without. We feed Virginia, Barbadoes, and other West Indies, as well as the mother country. Portugal and Spain take bread and fish, sending back wines. Boston, Salem, Charlestown, Ipswich, New Haven, "our maritan towns encrease roundly." Others mention Milford, Ct., Piscataqua, N. H., Newport, R. I., Scituate and Plymouth, Mass.

Commerce
stimulates
liberal opini-
ons.

All this bustling traffic and these interchanging comforts warmed his blood and thrilled his pious heart with many a thankful exclamation. Nevertheless his spirit mourns. Merchants, traders, vintners, "would willingly have had the Commonwealth tolerate divers kinds of sinful opinions to intice men to come and sit down with us, that their purses might be filled with coyn, the civil Government with contention, and the Church of our Lord Christ with errors; the Lord was pleased after all this to let in the King of Terror among his new peopled Churches."² This dark fiend, in the changed perspective of another generation, might appear to be an angel of light.

The parliamentary government suspended trade with Barbadoes and other dependencies, whose governors adhered to the royal cause. The Massachusetts General Court obeyed the mandate faithfully.³ According to Father Druilletes, who visited Boston⁴ at this time, the merchants began to look to Quebec to replace their failing trade. But the Roundheads were sagacious enough not to push the New England colonists into the arms of the French. The act was

Prohibition
in the West
Indies.

¹ Johnson, *W. Work. Prov.*, pp. 174, 208, etc.

² *Ibid.*, p. 215.

³ *M. C. R.*, iii. 224.

⁴ *Mem. Hist.*, i. 302, note.

repealed¹ October 14, 1651, and meanwhile the Council of State in England grants licenses to Edward Winslow and others for the Barbadoes trade.² Many licenses for bringing ammunition from England appear also.³ In the following year Boston shipowners petitioned⁴ the General Court for permission to follow an expedition projected by Parliament for the reduction of the West Indies. It is certain that this break in the commerce to the West Indies was a serious loss to the colonial merchants.⁵

Vessels were a leading article of export for sale, as well as carriers of freight. Massachusetts knew that a high standard of excellence must be maintained, and instituted regular inspection of shipbuilding. It was effective, and complaints of defects are recorded.⁶

Nothing in New England interested the mother country more than the supply of timber and naval stores afforded by her virgin forests. England was beginning her struggle with the Dutch — both naval and commercial — which secured for her the control of the commerce of the world. Naval supplies came to her from the North Sea ports, in uncertain quantities and liable to interruption by an enemy. Masts for the royal navy must be had. As early as 1651 vessels of 500 tons⁷ came to Boston and the ports of the Eastern coast in the mast trade. In later days the colonists knew by experience that a present of huge masts was the surest approach to the favor and bounty of their sovereign. Edward Winslow had the most enterprising commercial mind in the colonies. He appears in England pushing the whole business of supplying masts and tar, both with

¹ Hazard, *H. C.*, i. 553.

² *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1574-1660, p. 367.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 335 *et seq.*

⁴ *Mass. Archives*, lx. 21.

⁵ Felt, *Salem*, ii. 233; *Mass. Arch.*, lx. 21.

⁶ *Mass. Arch.*, xxxvii. 50.

⁷ Roger Wms. to J. W., Jr., *Nar. Club*, vi. 212.

the merchants there and the government. The Council of State¹ discuss the matter frequently, and with a manifestation of much interest.

Johnson² gives a graphic picture of the settled comfort prevailing in Massachusetts, through plenteous crops, rising industries, and the free commercial exchange. Authorities vary as to whether his statement was intended for 1642, or about 1652, when his Great prosperity. story terminates. The latter date must be nearly correct. Certainly his saying, that wine and sugar were "ordinarily spent" more freely than in England, could not have been true as early as 1642; our record proves this. It was common to sell a cow for clothing and family supplies. There were hemp, flax, and wool enough to furnish the people with clothing, and much was manufactured; but the farmers preferred to exchange wares for a part of their consumption.

Vessels came in regularly, and "full all the year long." The farmers perceived the value of the large foreign market. "If the merchant trade be not kept on foot, they fear greatly their corne and cattel will lye in their hands."

We may see a type of the men who created this commerce in John Holland, an early settler of Dorchester. He fitted vessels for the cod-fisheries and for other navigation. He died in 1652, leaving an estate of about £4,400, considered large at the time.³

The General Court⁴ of Massachusetts imitated the course of the English Parliament, and appointed Messrs. Russell, Duncan, and others a committee to consider ways for improving trade.

The war between England and Holland affected colonial trade⁵ in 1653. The Bay⁶ prohibited the export of

¹ *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1660, pp. 392, 394, 396, 398.

² *W. Work. Providence*, pp. 171, 173.

³ *Hist. Dorchester*, pp. 57, 58.

⁵ *Felt, Salem*, ii. 234.

⁴ *M. C. R.*, iv. part 1, 85.

⁶ *M. C. R.*, iv. part 1, 120.

provisions to the Dutch or French; the act lasting until August 6, 1654, when it was repealed. Connecticut¹ and Rhode Island issued similar edicts, and this again shows the growth of trade at Newport.² And Coddington soon after, in 1656,³ was sending horses from Newport to Barbadoes. David Selleck, of Boston, obtains from the English Council of State letters of marque for four privateers to be employed against the Dutch.⁴

In 1653,⁵ privateers cut both ways. John Hull, the mint master, tells quaintly of his anxieties. "In two ships taken by the Dutch, I lost to the value of one hundred and twenty pds. in beaver and other furs, &c, which I had shipped in them, bound for London. The loss of my estate will be nothing, if the Lord please to join my soul nearer to himself, and loose it more from creature comforts: my loss will be repaired with advantage. The Lord also hath made up my loss in outward estate. To him be all praise!"⁶

Spirit with matter, piety with profit and loss, mingle strangely.

¹ Conn. C. R., ii. 261.

² R. I. C. R., i. 261.

³ R. I. C. R., i. 338.

⁴ Cal. Br. S. P. Col. 1574-1660, p. 409.

⁵ The trade between Boston and the Western Islands was large, and these specimen cargoes are interesting:—

OUTWARD TO MADEIRA.

Pipe-staves	£265.16.00
533 Boufts (forms of wood)	26.07.06
	292.03.06

INWARD TO BOSTON.

40 pipes wine 7s. 10d.	300.00.00
1 pipe Vendridy wine	4.15.00
Money	20.12.00
Oil & Linen Cloth	3.00.00
	£328.07.00

Mass. Arch., lx. 112.

⁶ J. Hull, *Diarie*s, p. 146.

The increasing fisheries require salt in great quantity in 1655. The supply was interrupted in the previous year, either from the disturbances in the West Indies, or from other causes. The General Court¹ engaged the merchants to import a good supply.

We cannot understand why the General Court found it necessary to forbid the importation of malt, wheat, barley, biscuit, beef, meal, and flour from Europe.²

Cromwell's fleets in the West Indies are provisioned in Boston³ at the same time. Fruitless attempts to stimulate emigration from New England to Jamaica are made.

Newbury⁴ grants land in 1655 for the first wharf, dock, and warehouse on the Merrimack, and the improvements were made in the following year by Captain Paul White. This is the first recorded privilege, but facilities for navigation had long existed there.

We find in John Hull's Diaries for 1655 some very interesting though vague statements relating to the balance of trade with England. Three ships this year carry "the sum of the returns of the country unto England, as is usual every year, we yet having our clothing (most of it) from thence."⁵

In 1657 three ships arrived from London bringing clothing. Four go out, carrying the "sum of the returns" as before. And in 1658, "a little ship called The Tryall, Sam Scarlett, Master, had a good quantity of beavers and peltry, as the rest of the returns for this year."

Hull, more than any other person, was the banker for the whole country, and knew the condition of trade. These statements show that there was an annual settle-

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, lx. 117.

² *M. C. R.*, iv. part 1, 246.

³ *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1574-1660, pp. 429, 432, 434, 437.

⁴ *Coffin*, p. 60; *Smith*, p. 24.

⁵ *Hull's Diaries*, pp. 179, 180, 190.

ment, and that the country was almost self-supporting. "Our clothing" must have been the garments of the better-conditioned in the villages. The great majority of the population must have worn homespun. Palfrey¹ puts the population of Massachusetts at 25,000, and of New England at between 40,000 and 45,000, ten years later. Three or four ships could hardly have balanced the wants of so many people, if their consumption had not been largely supplied at home.

Horses were used in the cane-crushing mills of Barbados and the other sugar districts. They were ^{Export of horses.} a favorite export, and in 1656 William Coddington sent them from Newport.² The shipment of mares was forbidden, but the Commissioners of the United Colonies³ were obliged to leave this matter to the local jurisdictions.

English philanthropists remitted goods instead of money for the support of missionaries to the Indians. An invoice of these shows the wants of the colonial market to be for good black broadcloth at 12s. or 15s.; scythes, sickles, and knives; Irish stockings, and "some Jersey; fine Holland, cambric and lawn; lead, buttons, silk, tape, and other Manchester ware."⁴ The United Commissioners consider 4d. in the shilling a fair profit for importing and distributing these wares.

The furs, as we have seen in Hull's notes, keep a place in the exchanges, furnishing an equivalent for ^{Indian trade.} specie. The Massachusetts Court says that trade with the Indians belongs to the commonwealth, and not to "particular" persons. They appoint a committee to control it for the public benefit.⁵ The report of this committee on the "Trade of Furs" shows the relative importance of the trading districts.⁶ The Merrimack pays the

¹ *New England*, iii. 35.

² *R. I. C. R.*, i. 338.

³ Hazard, *H. C.*, ii. 348.

⁴ Hazard, *H. C.*, ii. 355, 356.

⁵ *M. C. R.*, iii. 424.

⁶ *N. Hamp. H. C.*, iii. 96.

largest sum, £25; Concord, £5; Pynchon, for Springfield and Norwottock, £20; Cambridge, £2; "Nashoway and Grotton," £8; Sudbury, £2; Whipeepheridge, £5.

"The Co. of the Western Plantation" for trade was granted in 1659 a tract ten miles square, 40 or 50 miles west from Springfield, to erect a house and to locate ten men. In 1662 they reported an expenditure of £250 for running lines, and for land journey £150 and upward in prosecuting orders of the General Court.¹

The course of trade for an Indian is illustrated in one of Pynchon's accounts² given below.

1658. Rhode Island bewails the condition of her commerce caused by the illiberality of the United Colonies, in a letter³ to her agent, John Clarke, in England. "We are not in a capacity to send out shippinge." The other New England colonies declined trade and bought corn, cattle, and tobacco of the heretics at their own prices; "thay gaine extraordinarily by us." Probably this statement was intended for political effect in England. The control of the larger market, which if latent is always potential, doubtless had more to do with the course of prices than the theological tenets of either buyer or seller. The commerce of Newport was extending certainly. The wealthy Jews, who contributed so much to it afterward, appear now. It is said⁴ that fifteen families came in from Hol-

¹ Felt, *Salem*, i. 227.

² 1659. Judd, *Hadley*, p. 120. Pynchon charges an Indian sachem in advance, toward land he promises to sell:—

	FADAMS	HANDS	£ s d
2 yds Bilboa rug	7	0	1.15.0
Red shag cotton and trading cloth .	2	4	.12.0
1660. Wampum	27	1	6.15.7
A coat 5f. Gun 6f 5h	11	5	2.17.6
"For your being drunk"	2	0	10.0
A kettle	5	0	1.5.0
And other charges, in all, 300 fadams [i. e. fathoms wampum] at 5s. = £75. Paid in the land.			

³ R. I. C. R., i. 389.

⁴ Mag. Amer. Hist., iv. 456.

land this year, bringing with their goods and mercantile skill the first three degrees of free masonry. Religious freedom induced them to come, but they would not have gone where they could not trade. They appear in the Rhode Island legislature by petition as early as 1684.

The important trade with the Dutch, interrupted by the war, had been resumed by the Rhode Islanders, the previous year.¹

The Colony of Plymouth closed its Kennebeck adventure, selling the lands and property to Edward Tyng, J. Winslow, and others for £400.²

William Stevens builds "a ship" at Gloucester,³ which may be taken as a type of her class. She was 68 ft. in the keel, 23 ft. broad from outside to outside, 91.2 ft. long in the hold under the beam, "Two decks, forecastle, quarter deck." The great cabin was 6 ft. high. The price was £3.5s. per ton, of which £150 was payable in Muscovado sugar deliverable in Barbadoes. Country pay was common, and money was the exception. In Henry Webb's will of this date, of a bequest to his grandchild of £500, a portion, or three hundred pounds, is made payable in money or in beaver.⁴ On the Piscataqua they used a kind of boat to carry boards and lumber, which they called a "gondola,"⁵ or, in the local dialect, "guindalow."

John Hull⁶ continues his account of the "returns of the country" already referred to. In 1660 Masters Woodgreen and Pierce brought in "two great ships" with supplies of clothing. The Prudent Mary, with Master Gillem's ship and two small vessels, carried out the returns in the same year. This made four vessels, probably devoted in part to the returns. For in 1661 he says The Prudent Mary carried "a great part of the returns for this year for London."

¹ *R. I. C. R.*, i. 356.

² Baylies' *Plymouth*, ii. 53.

³ Babson, p. 200.

⁴ *Suffolk Prob. R.*, Nov. 21, 1661.

⁵ Adams' *Portsmouth*, p. 42.

⁶ *Diaries*, pp. 195, 204.

The Massachusetts General Court in 1661 repealed her act making foreign ships free.¹ In 1662 England employed 200 sail in her commerce with America and the West Indies.² New England and the West Indies furnished the larger part of this trade, and Secretary Nicholas says in London of New England,³ "they maintain and supply the plantations of Barbadoes and Jamaica."⁴ This was the most regular and profitable commerce of our colonies. It was carried on not only in the large ports of Boston and Salem, but in Ipswich, Newport, New London,⁵ New Haven,⁶ Windsor, Ct.⁶ A vessel made two voyages in a year, carrying fish, horses, provisions, pipe-staves and lumber, bringing back sugar, molasses, indigo, and cotton. Newfoundland was often taken into the circuit. Provisions were always going from our colonies to the fishermen there, and West India produce⁷ sometimes came by this route instead of the usual direct one.

New London built vessels. The Speedwell, Hopewell, Endeavour, represented a class of barques from twelve to twenty tons burden, and valued from £50 to £82 each.⁸ The Endeavour made several voyages to the West Indies, and was sold in Barbadoes for 2,000 lbs. sugar. Newport commerce strikes hands with New London. The Tryall, a larger vessel, valued at £200, is built at the latter place, and owned jointly by Daniel Lane, dwelling there, and William Brenton, of Newport.

Corn was exported so freely that the merchants asked the Court of Massachusetts to prohibit it, fearing a scarcity. They feared especially that the fishing industry

¹ *M. C. R.*, iv. part 2, 32. ² *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1661-1668, p. 58.

³ *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1661-1668, p. 71.

⁴ Caulkins, *N. Lon.*, p. 235. ⁵ *M. H. C.*, viii. 56.

⁶ Stiles, *Windsor*, p. 480. ⁷ Caulkins, *N. Lon.*, p. 235.

⁸ Caulkins, *N. Lon.*, p. 231.

would be crippled by lack of this important food.¹ Among the exports to London we find poultry.²

“Plant now New England Firs in English Oak,
Build your Ships’ Ribs proof to the Cannon-stroke,”

says Denham’s “Political Satires.” New England products had become an important element in the commerce and industries of the mother country. The free intercourse with the West Indies and the Western Islands, the large trade with the great Catholic consumers of fish, had developed a vigorous commerce on the shores of New England. Moreover, nearly 100,000 sheep were making our colonies independent of English manufacturers.³ All these causes, combined with the sturdy political independence of Massachusetts, inspired the crown with a desire for more effective control of these quondam children, now fast verging toward maturity and growing away from the parent stock.

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, lx. 136-138; *M. C. R.*, iv. part 2, 43.

² *Mass. Arch.*, lx. p. 87. ³ *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1661-1668, p. ix.

CHAPTER VI.

RISE OF HOMESPUN INDUSTRIES.

1640-1662.

“THE scarcity of money made a great change in all commerce.”¹ Political troubles in England brought new opportunities to those restless spirits who encourage emigration,² and lessened the resources of all enterprise. The mother country sent her wares on venture, but few persons embarked in the year 1640. Immigration, the certain stimulus of new communities, almost ceased in 1640. There were many sellers, few buyers, and hardly any currency. There was a privation, not from scarcity, but it was enforced in the midst of abundance of
Great change of circumstances.

¹ Winthrop, ii. 21, Savage’s ed. 1853.

² March 17, 1638, *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1574-1660, p. 266. Lord Maynard to Archbishop Laud. “The intention of divers clothiers of great trading to go suddenly into New Eng. (fr. Ashden). Hears daily of incredible numbers of persons of very good abilities who have sold their lands to depart. Danger of divers parishes being impoverished. So much corn carried over that there will be hardly enough left in this great scarcity to last until harvest. Is informed there are 14 ships in the Thames to be ready for that voyage by Easter day.” Gorges to Sec. Windabank makes the same point, p. 276, Petit. for export provisions “denied,” p. 284.

The migration had been a serious matter to England, where there was then no surplus population. This shows it to have been partially checked as early as 1638.

At one period about 21,000 persons, or 4,000 families, had come to Massachusetts in 300 vessels, at a cost of £200,000 sterling. In 125 years thereafter, Hutchinson thought, more returned than came. Nothing like regular immigration occurred again until the great movement of our century.

dance. Wares would not command wares, credit failed,¹ money there was none, and prices fell to one half, yea to a third, and staggered at last at about one quarter of the old standard.

Planting for subsistence, and loading ships with raw produce, was not enough to constitute husbandry and commerce. The community was turned in upon itself, and was forced to develop a higher system of industry, to convert the products of soil, sea, and forest into new products needed in the larger world beyond the Atlantic, as well as into necessary commodities for their own use. Agriculture and commerce must combine with manufacture before either form of industry could exert its best economic force. We have seen that the aboriginal money and the primitive Indian exchanges, rude as they were, helped the new civilisation materially. Civilisation evolves from what has gone before, and no society jumps into new discovery without resting in and starting from the older efforts of mankind.

Shipbuilding, in this view, was one of the best kinds of manufacture. As soon as colonial labor settled into organised work, it produced vessels skilfully, and cheaper finally than in any other part of the world. Salem, or rather Hugh Peter, its living and active spirit, started by building a ship, large for that day, of 300 tons.² This affair was carried on by united endeavor, and the example stimulated Boston to undertake another of 160 tons,³ in the same manner. These opera-

¹ *M. C. R.*, i. 304. "Great stop in trade and commerce for want of money. Specie shall not be compelled for debt. Cattle, fish, and other commodities shall pass at rates fixed by the Court, Ind. corn 4s., summer wheat 6s., rye 5s., barley 5s., pease 6s., hemp and flaxseed 15s. The prices are all for products grown in this jurisdiction." I. 307: Debtors' estates are not to be sold on execution; the officer is to convey commodities to the creditor at the valuation of three disinterested men.

² Winthrop, ii. 29.

³ Named The Trial. Thomas Coytemore was her master. Froth-

tions established an important industry by which New England could turn its labor and products into available commodities. The Court had tried to enforce¹ unwilling labor at one price and another, but found "by experience"² that labor could not and would not be controlled. Working people moved to other places, or lived independently on their own land. The magistrates rested finally in the expedient that each town should regulate its own wages. Probably this legislation brought about little more than an agreed standard, for, as Winthrop says, "it held not long." This work of shipbuilding was not easy at first, for it was carried on substantially without money. But the labor, which could not be impressed at an arbitrary price, put forth its energies freely in exchange for the produce of the land, and for necessary subsistence. Shipwrights took and gave what they could get. Bushel, yard, and pound weight took the place in exchange of minted coins. Barter on a large scale became the means of industry, and all through the century "country pay," current in all transactions, furnished the life-blood of commerce.

Labor not sold, but exchanged.

The processes of domestic manufacture were not instantaneous, but this period marks the transition when we may say that they became an accomplished fact. Domestic

ingham, *Charlestown*, p. 85. She was finished in 1642, and her tonnage is then stated to be 160t.

¹ Legislative control of every kind of trade or dealing was instilled thoroughly in the Puritan mind. The "Body of Liberties" of 1641 reveals the opinion of the time :—

... "to appoint certaine select men to sett reasonable rates upon all commodities, and proportionably to limit the wages of workmen and labourers. Noe increase to be taken of a poore brother or neighbour for anything lent unto him." Hutchinson, *Pap.*, i. 194.

The Connecticut Court fixed detailed prices for artificers and workmen in 1641. *Conn. C. R.*, p. 65.

² Winthrop, ii. 29.

spinning and weaving began early, for home-made cloth appears in Peter Branch's inventory, 1639.¹ As we have seen, mills for grinding grain, driven by water or by wind, dotted the lands of Plymouth, the Bay, and Connecticut, many of them built by the voluntary labor of the neighboring districts. The labor-saving sawmill was not used in Holland or England until the latter part of the century. Laborers fought them persistently in Eng-

Sawmills
and other
industries. land, but no such prejudice kept the boon of machinery away from the New World. The forest welcomed its conqueror; the laborer soon became his own overseer, and gladly called to his assistance natural forces to subdue the products of nature.

In Mason's settlement at Piscataqua (now Portsmouth) Gibbons had started the first sawmill² about 1631.³ Eight Danes and twenty-two women, thrifty immigrants, were employed there in sawing lumber and in making potash.

The records are meagre, but sufficient to show that other industries crept in. Leather must be had, and Nicholas Easton established a tannery at Ipswich in 1634;⁴ and in 1639⁵ the dressing of goatskins and hides is mentioned in the grant of land to Philemon Dickerson at Salem. Joseph and Philip Veren began ropewalks at Salem⁶ in 1635, and a gunsmith is mentioned there in 1636. The colonists drew the line between socialistic assistance and individual endeavor at salt-making. Goodman Fitt, a tailor, whose name should have held him to his own vocation, in 1637 is empowered "to set up a salt pen, if he

¹ *Suffolk Probate R.*, pp. 2, 3.

² There could not have been many in 1633, for Wood says, "Here, no doubt, might be good done with sawmills." *N. E. Prospect*, p. 20.

³ Adams, *Portsmouth*, p. 19.

⁴ Felt, *Ipswich*, p. 96. In 1633, the General Court orders that the hides shall not be wasted. *M. C. R.*, i. 305.

⁵ Felt, *Salem*, ii. 183, and *Essex Inst.*, v. 167.

⁶ Felt, *Salem*, ii. 175.

can live upon it, and upon his trade."¹ No land was granted. Salt was the will-o'-wisp of seventeenth century manufacture; and ingenious John Winthrop, the younger, tried his hand at Beverly in 1638, if he carried out the privilege of wood for the boiling, pasture for two cows, and liberty to set up salt-works at "Rial-side."² John Benham had made bricks in Dorchester, for in 1638³ it is ordered that the land for the pits which he had used shall still be in common for the use of the plantation. In this year we find mention of the first glassworks in New England at Salem.⁴ Better than salt or leather was the manufacture of knowledge, which careful John Hull notes, 1639, in his diary: "we began to print at Cambridge."⁵ Wax of bees, oil of whale or olive-tree, coal out of the earth, and electricity from all together, have not lighted the land like the torch kindled under those poor inky types, which blazed as it ran, until in our day a whole continent shines under its beams.

Such attempts at manufacture⁶ had been prosecuted with varying success, in the circumstances common to all new countries, with labor scarce, but to be had for money, when the period designated by Winthrop began. There arose a new commerce, changed in all its workings by the lack of money. We shall now pass rapidly over those new operations which are purely colonial, caused by local needs, and conducted with the ready skill developed by New England from the hard conditions of her being. The Earl of Strafford's head was off, and the social millennium, so often expected in the changes

New conditions of trade.

¹ Frothingham, *Charlestown*, p. 57.

² Am. Ant. Soc., Dr. Bentley's *MS.* note, liberty "for a salt house on Royal Side."

³ *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 160.

⁴ *Essex Inst.*, xvi. 2; again in 1639.

⁵ John Hull, *Diaries*, p. 172.

⁶ *Proc. M. H. S.*, 1876, p. 249. See C. C. Smith's full account of attempts to make gunpowder.

of politics, kept the good Puritans at home. In Massachusetts the tide was at lowest ebb in 1641. "Corn would buy nothing : a cow which cost last year £20 might now be bought for £4 or £5, etc., and many gone out of the country, so as no man could pay his debts, nor the merchants make return into England for their commodities, which occasioned many there to speak evil of us. These straits set our people on work to provide fish, clapboards, plank, etc., and to sow hemp and flax (which prospered very well), and to look out to the West Indies for a trade in cotton."¹

The account of another observer would indicate that manufactures at this moment were advanced further than Winthrop suggests. "They are setting on the manufacture of linen and cotton cloth, and the fishing trade. . . . They have builded and planted to admiration for the time."²

In 1640 the Court had passed two orders. The first,³ Domestic fabrics. to encourage the manufacture of linen, directs the towns to inquire what seeds are necessary for the growth of flax, etc., to ascertain what persons are skilful in braking, in the use of wheels, in weaving, etc., and ordains that boys and girls be taught to spin yarn ; the same process essentially is applied to cotton wool. The second⁴ order, in October of the same year, provides a bounty of 3d. in a shilling for linen, woollen, or cotton cloth for three years, if spun and woven in the first two instances of "wool or linen grown here." This order was repealed⁵ in the following June. Connecticut encourages flax, etc., in 1640.⁶ Cotton did not come in fast enough from the West Indies ; in this year, for lack of it for clothing, the Court recommends⁷ the gathering of wild

¹ Winthrop, ii. 37.

² 2 Mass. H. C., iii.

³ Mass. C. R., i. 294.

⁴ Mass. C. R., p. 303.

⁵ Ibid., p. 320.

⁶ Conn. C. R., 1640, p. 61.

⁷ Mass. C. R., p. 322.

hemp, stating that 2*d.* per pound is already offered for it by sundry persons, and enjoining the people to work their children and servants early and late. This grass,¹ long used by the Indians in ropes and mats, excited great expectations among the colonists. When Oldham brought samples of it from Connecticut, they claimed it was better than English hemp. Gorges² exalted it to Winthrop. Little came of the attempts to substitute it for the hemp of commerce. This was imported regularly; for a rope-walk was started at Boston³ by John Harrison in 1641.

Ipswich⁴ founds a malthouse, but will allow no man to have any old wheat malted (except for his own use) for five years.

Salt-petre, for gunpowder, was intensely desired by these sturdy patriots.⁵ Boston built a house for the manufacture in the prison yard. Concord⁶ tried the "breeding of it," and sought the nitre in the outhouses of their poultry. We shall hear more of these attempts. In the General Court a monopoly of salt-making is given to S. Winslow⁷ "for ten years if he made his way;" and an act to encourage mines⁸ gives the use of them for twenty-one years after discovery.

Among the manufactures which went beyond the present capacity of the country was that of glass, already mentioned as begun at Salem. The Court now gives the public sanction to this enterprise in the form of an indirect loan. Salem is authorised⁹ to lend the glass-men £30, and to deduct it from the next rate laid upon the town. These works continued to produce more or less until about 1670,¹⁰ when they stopped "for lack of capital."

¹ Wood, *New Eng. Prospect*, p. 16.

² 4 *Mass. H. C.*, vii. 335.

³ *Mem. Hist.*, ii. 11.

⁴ Felt, *Ipswich*, p. 97.

⁵ *Bos. Town Rec.*, p. 65.

⁶ Shattuck, p. 19.

⁷ *Mass. C. R.*, i. 331; *Ibid.*, ii. 5; he is granted six months' more time to begin.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 327.

⁹ *Mass. C. R.*, i. 344.

¹⁰ *Essex Inst.*, xvi. 3.

The new government in England reversed the order of " restraint upon ships and passengers to New England,"¹ and intercourse with the mother country was resumed. It was a successful fishing year, and 300,000 dry fish were sent to market.² The regulations restricting town privileges to their own inhabitants began to relax for the benefit of this great industry. Ipswich appoints a committee³ "to dispose of the Little Neck for the advancing of the Fishery." Every boat coming had a right to make its fish, and the crew was allowed an acre of ground for planting. The domestic traffic with the Indians is sufficiently important in this town to be regulated by a committee,⁴ and it is allowed one member of a company to trade for beaver and wampum.

An interesting example of mixed communal and individual effort is in the gristmill built at Stamford,⁵ Ct. The dam was made by the town; then Samuel Swane built the frame and body for £51, the other parts being done by those of the town fit to do such work. The property thus created under the pressure of public necessity was sold during the year to two men for £74.10.

Massachusetts was stretching along the coast, and widening out the field of her enterprise. Edmund Littlefield penetrated the wilds now occupied by Wells,⁶ and planted a sawmill there amid the luxuriant growth of timber. Other mills followed soon, for J. Wheelwright, by the record, started one in 1642 or 1643.

Our fathers entered into every consciousness, and regulated its condition by counsel or by statute as carefully and as minutely as possible. Even this herculean task was easy—for conformity, if not regeneration, could be compelled—compared with their ef-

¹ Winthrop, ii. 42.

² *Ibid.*

³ Felt, *Ipswich*, p. 108.

⁴ Felt, *Ipswich*, p. 102.

⁵ Huntington, p. 22.

⁶ Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 48.

forts in administering labor and wages. The towns struggled by every form of statute¹ and arbitration to control the hire of the laborer. Hingham² fixes common labor at 1.6*d. per diem*. Mowers are to have 2*s.*; carpenters, 1.10*d.*; two yoke of oxen with one man are to receive 6*s.* for 8 hours; wheelwrights are reduced from 2.3*d.* to 2*s.* The price of butter meanwhile is 5*d.* The difficulties of state trading and of a currency of commodities all combine in one act, for the Court³ is obliged to allow J. Stowe and I. Morrell £7.10 for loss in £30 worth of corn received for "fishing money." In another act⁴ R. Cooke is allowed 1*s.* a bushel for corn received at 4*s.* and passed at 3*s.*; the amount of the transaction is £40, and the good legislators demonstrate their benevolence, if not their wisdom, when they record that the law of price must be, not in the necessity of a bargain, but in its benefit.

All the early colonists, after hoping against hope for gold and silver, expected much from mining for iron ore. In 1637 Abraham Shaw was granted a monopoly for "one half the coles or yronstone on any common⁵ ground." A monopoly of smelting for 21 years, resulting in abortive attempts, had been granted in 1641.⁶ Bog iron-ore, found in ponds, bogs, and in strips of meadow land called

¹ An instance of these statutes, 1641-42, *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 171. As there had been some trouble and controversy about wages, the following order was passed, viz: "It is ordered that from the 15th day of the first month (March) to the 25th day of the eighth month it shall not be lawful for common labourers, as hoers, reapers, tailors, &c. who were used to take after two shillings the day, to take above 28*d.* a day; and from the 25th day of the 8th month to the first day of the 10th month, 15*d.* a day; and from the said first day of the 10th month unto the first day of the 12th month, 12*d.* the day; and from the said first day of the 12th month unto the 15th day of the first month, 15*d.* a day."

² Lincoln, p. 52.

³ *Mass. C. R.*, i. 330.

⁵ *M. C. R.*, i. 206.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 338.

⁶ *Ibid.*, i. 327; ii. 61.

sledges,¹ became a constant source of prosperity for nearly two centuries, or until better communication brought cheaper supplies from Pennsylvania and other mining districts. The Saugus² bog iron ore, soon exploited by the younger Winthrop and his associates on a larger Iron.

scale, is noticed in 1642. It is not what our iron workers of the seventeenth century did, but what they foreshadowed and promised, which gives to these first essays a peculiar interest. Joseph Jenks was the first of those Tubal Cains, working in brass and iron upon this continent, who have seized its rude matter and its enormous forces, have grasped its needs of labor and its industrial opportunities, and have forged them all into inventions transcending the world's experience. At Lynn³ Jenks made his models for many domestic implements and common tools. Tradition states that the first article actually cast was an iron quart pot. The idea cast into the metal of that little vessel was big with fate; American steam-cylinders and monster cog-wheels were born in those petty grains of moulding-sand; and no illustration of to-day can measure the possibilities the morrow may bring to this casting of iron, the foundation of our industries.

Glovers appear at Salem,⁴ and "ould Thos. Eaborne is admonished for wronging the country by insufficient tanning." He escapes by paying the witness fee of 2.3d. All the towns⁵ have been ordered to make saltpetre. Mr.

¹ Butler, *Groton*, p. 273.

² See *Essex Inst.*, xviii. 241, for a full account.

³ Newhall, p. 208.

⁴ Felt, *Annals Salem*, ii. 169, 183.

⁵ The fathers' blind faith in legislation is as ludicrous as the details of their work. "To make salt petre" each plantation shall erect a house about 20×30. Military companies are to carry earth. "Careful and conscientable members of this commonwealth are to carry urine and manure, and all is to be mixed." *M. C. R.*, ii. 17. This is repealed shortly (ii. 29), and each family is enjoined under a penalty to make it.

Garford is appointed¹ to see that each or several families together in Salem make it at a fair price for the use of the colony.

A link between the old and the new is in John Hull, the founder of the specie currency of the United States. Arrived in Boston in 1635, eleven years old,^{John Hull.} “after² a little keeping at school, I was taken from school to help my father plant corn, which I attended for seven years together; and then by God’s hand I fell to learning (by the help of my brother), and to practicing the trade of a goldsmith.” Gold and silver from the richer West Indies made work for the Boston craftsmen. All sorts of handicrafts are increasing; the Court³ busies itself with very minute regulations for tanners, curriers, shoemakers, and butchers. A special effort is made to separate each craft, and to elevate the mysteries; persons are not allowed to mix them. They soon make another ordinance⁴ for leather, extending these provisions to the article in shoes, etc., as well as in the unwrought state.

The troubles of 1640 were reversed in 1642. Specie had come from the West Indies in quantities sufficient for regulation by statute.⁵ The Holland ducatour, equal to three guilders, shall pass at six shillings. The rixdollar ($\frac{21}{9}$) and the ryall of 8 each shall pass at five shillings.⁶ It was a year of scarcity;⁷ the summer was cold and wet; and voracious pigeons, 10,000 in a flock, devoured or damaged the English grain in the fields; while the orchards suffered under the ravages of the mice, which had girdled the bark in the previous winter’s snow. The supply of corn was out by the end of the second month, and many families were driven again to shellfish or dried fish. There was money, but no corn. The shopkeeper, refusing corn when plenty, the laborers and artificers once refusing to labor

¹ Felt, *Salem*, ii. 177.

² *Diaries*, p. 142.

³ *M. C. R.*, ii. 18.

⁴ *M. C. R.*, ii. 31.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. 29.

⁶ *Conn. C. R.* 1643, p. 86.

⁷ Winthrop, ii. 94, *MS.*

for food, would now gladly exchange or work for corn. The husbandman would part with it only at 12*d.* in the bushel better than the cash rate, or for cattle.

The internal trade of Connecticut followed the direction taken by the Bay, though it was limited by Affairs in Connecticut. lack of the commerce of the older community, and of the capital accumulated through the fisheries. The Connecticut Court is obliged to order "that no man wthin these libertyes" shall refuse Indian corn¹ at 2.6*d.* per bushel for any contract, whether for labor or for cattle and other commodities. Mr. Hopkins has imported cotton wool from the West Indies, and Windsor² is ordered to take from him £110 worth, Wethersfield the same, and Hartford £200. Windsor and Wethersfield have the privilege of turning over the cotton to the plantations according to rates, if these towns desire it within a month. They used this material for corselets, and it is not certain whether this importation was for defence or for clothing. "To better furnish the River"³ with cordage for rigging, they order every one having hempseed to sow it, or to sell it to others for sowing. They also raise a committee⁴ to seek a contribution from the towns toward building a ship. Such undertaking, though easy for Salem and Boston, was beyond the means of these new farming communities, and we find nothing coming from it. They are trading with the Indians of Delaware at South River. The Dutch forbid this trade by ordinance, and the English threaten reprisals.⁵

Homespun industries had become in 1643 an integral part of life in the Puritan colonies. Rowley, Cloth-making at Rowley. where twenty or more families trained in the cloth manufacture of Yorkshire had settled, took

¹ Rates are fixed in wheat, 4.6*d.*; rye, 3.6*d.*; peas, 3.*vid.*; Indian, 2.*vijd.*; wampu, 6 a penny.

"Pipe staves to be 4 foote vi. in. in length." *Conn. C. R.* 1642, p. 79.

² *Ibid.*, p. 75.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 79, also p. 61 in 1640.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁵ *Doc. Col. N. York*, xii. 24.

the lead. Winthrop speaks of the manufacture as general, though Rowley "exceeded all other towns."¹ They brought the gearing for a fulling-mill from England,—one of the cedar tenter-posts existed in this century,—and built the mill this year;² it is asserted that this was the first in the colonies. One is mentioned in Salem in 1640 as a part of a tide-mill; if not existing when that at Rowley started, it was probably in operation soon after. There were only 1,000 sheep in 1642, and wool came in a cargo from Bilboa or Malaga in 1643.³ These fulling-mills show that, either by importation or by home production, there was sufficient wool to furnish the knitters, and to afford a surplus for weaving and finishing by the then known processes of manufacture. Cotton⁴ "from Barbadoes" was abundant, and great efforts had been made to raise hemp and flax. The gratuities for making cloth had been repealed by the Court, but N. Busbey, having lost his warrant, is allowed 34s.⁵ for work done before the repeal. We note a tanner at Haverhill.

John Winthrop, Jr., has been to England, where he formed a "company of undertakers" to work the ore of the Saugus ponds, specimens of which were carried over by Robert Bridges. This company advanced one thousand pounds. He embarks many workmen, servants, and materials in the good ship *An Cleeve*, which is detained by an officer of Parliament at Gravesend. He petitions⁶ for indemnity, stating his loss to be above £1,000, caused by the detention. Some of these workmen brought by Winthrop founded families of artisans, who have helped to develop the prosperity of many states.

At Lynn⁷ were now begun operations for smelting,

¹ Winthrop, ii. 119.

² *Hist. Rowley*, p. 148.

³ Winthrop, ii. 154.

⁴ Winthrop, ii. 119.

⁵ *M. C. R.*, ii. 61.

⁶ *5 Mass. H. C.*, vii. 34.

⁷ A full account of these works is in *Essex Institute*, xviii. 241; and see *Proc. M. H. S.* 1886-87, p. 190.

forging, and refining iron, and these were continued "to Iron-works some extent till 1683."¹ These works had at Lynn. partial success, but it is said that we cannot determine now whether they succeeded always. It was a school for instructing iron-workers, who profited by the errors of these pioneer teachers.

Thomas Leader was the general agent, and the same company operated at Braintree, the town² granting them 3,000 acres of common land, with other valuable privileges. It is now conceded that the Lynn works started first, and the precise date of the Braintree forge is not known; it became bankrupt in 1653.³ The Court⁴ watched these enterprises anxiously, and granted all the franchises possible. Land, privileges for forge and "finery," freedom from taxes of works, and stock for ten years, and a monopoly of making bar iron under £20 per ton, were given freely. The workmen were freed from military training, and any citizen was allowed to take £100 in the stock of the corporation. Public necessity prompted this legislation in all its bearings.

Laborers in Connecticut receiving corn for their wages suffered loss, being obliged to pass it at lower rates. The Court makes it a tender at same rates as received.⁵

The Massachusetts Court,⁶ owing £60, agrees to pay in beaver, wheat, barley, or cattle. Interest⁷ was at eight per cent. until 1693, when the legal rate was reduced to six. Bricks were made in Plymouth⁸ at 11s. per thousand; they were made in Scituate⁹ also.

Roger Williams's plantation at Providence had settled Providence Plantations. itself sufficiently to throw out a trading-post, for according to Stephen Hopkins,¹⁰ Richard Smith

¹ Newhall, *Lynn*, p. 96.

² Pattee, *Braintree*, p. 450.

³ Pattee, *Braintree*, p. 454.

⁴ *M. C. R.*, ii. 61.

⁵ *Conn. C. R.* 1643, p. 100.

⁶ *Mass. Arch.*, c. 5.

⁷ Felt, *Ipswich*, p. 103.

⁸ 2 *M. H. C.*, iii. 183.

⁹ Deane, p. 29.

¹⁰ 2 *M. H. C.*, ix. p. 198.

now established one on Narragansett Bay, in the present town of North Kingstown. The economical bent of our people is illustrated by their method of managing this Indian trade in detached individual enterprises. Capital and the thorough organisation of European companies could not compete with the audacity and ready resource of private persons. The Dutch were the foremost merchants at this time, but the carefully organised monopoly at Renssallierwyck¹ failed, while individual traders secured the best fur trade and the patronage of the Indians. The Commissioners of the United Colonies at Boston consider in much detail, and submit to the several legislatures, a scheme for consolidating the whole Indian trade into one corporation,² with a capital of £5,000 or £10,000, that could be "comfortably employed." A shareholder holding not under £20 could enter, or several combining for one share could enter by a trustee. Minute regulations were proposed, and two or three in each jurisdiction were to be chosen by the undertakers to manage the joint stock. Subscriptions toward the capital stock were to be received in money, English commodities fit for trade, wampum, beaver, English corn, and cattle fit for market or the butcher.

Nothing came of this magnificent project.³ The future of America ran in the opposite direction, and toward the great possibilities open to each individual. The economic opportunity opened by the new continent, to servants and laborers as well as traders, the fathers could neither comprehend nor control. Ancient custom fettered their notions of value, exchange, and price; that labor could fix its own reward worried them exceedingly. The candid Winthrop⁴ relates that Richard,

Great opportunities for labor.

¹ O'Callaghan, *New Neth.*, pp. 340, 456. Van Curler reports the purchase of a house of oak wood at R., "all ready, for 350 guilders."

² Hazard, *H. C.*, ii. 19.

³ *M. C. R.*, ii. 86, 138.

⁴ Winthrop, ii. 99, *MS.*

just out of his service, took great wages above others, in ready money only. In a year, or a little more, "he had scraped together about £25, and then returned with his prey to England." The price of commodities was in constant dispute also. Mr. Savage cites¹ an original affidavit accusing Captain Keayne of paying one Wiltshire for labor in cloth at 17s. per yard, which he claimed to be Spanish broadcloth. Henry Shrimpton, Mr. Stoddard, and others deposed that the article was "cloth rash," worth 9s. to 10s.

The economic action of the United Colonies established the Winchester measure² of eight gallons to the bushel, but their political doings were more important. The four colonies, Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, united, excluding Rhode Island and the Gorges plantations. In this federation for general union with local independence, rude though it was, existed the germ of these United States.³ Another political measure of greatest importance defined the functions of the Magistrates or upper chamber, and the Deputies or lower chamber, thus establishing that coordinate system of legislation borrowed from the Old World, but which was to influence the course of America. The legendary goose of old Rome has usurped a large place in its annals; certainly the actual sow disputed between Captain Keayne and Mrs. Sherman deserves casual mention. Out of this question⁴ about a pig, litigated by the General Court for years and adjudicated amid all the influences of popular passion, came the final distinction which instituted Senate and House of Representatives.

William Pynchon and seven others from Roxbury had carried the line of Connecticut settlements in 1644 upward to the modern Springfield. His note written thence to S. Day shows the wants of these frontier posts after

¹ Winthrop, p. 85.

² Hazard, *H. C.*, ii. 10.

³ Chalmers, *Rev. Am. Cols.*, p. 88.

⁴ Winthrop, ii. 69.

A pig causes
great re-
sults.

eight years of occupation, and indicates the kind of life led in these little kernels of civilisation. "I procured 3*li.* of bacon of a neighbor, which is sent you at 6*li.*; & 2*li.* of tobacco I procured at another place, which cost 18*d.* per *li.* I have no pepper, but I have sent 2 ounces of ginger at 3*d.*, also, I have sent *jd.* in white paper; sault, 1 quart sault *jd.*; 1*li.* sugar 20*d.*; 4 loafes, 2*s.* 5*d.* The whole is 9*s.* & the bagg & basket to put the things in 6*d.*; so the Lord blesse you in your proceedings."¹ S. Day was prospecting at Nipnett, near Lancaster, for mines, in the interest of Governor Winthrop. Pynchon writes him that he has told an Indian they may trust Day for beans, corn, or deer. P. pays for a good doe 2 fathoms of wampum, for a yearling fawn 1 fathom; and showed the Indian how the trust may be made sure on both sides by "splitting a stick and making notches; every notch to stand for sixpence in wampum." Governor Winthrop would pay Day at Boston, in the spring, "though it were 20 fathom."² By the next year, according to Johnson,³ there were traders enough to spoil the beaver trade by over-competition at Springfield, and the settlement had to subsist by husbandry. Roxbury⁴ grants a rood of upland to Jasper Rawlines to make bricks. One Thomas, a goldsmith at Salem,⁵ takes an apprentice for 12 years, to teach him his trade, to board and clothe him, and to allow him £3 at the end of his service.

Settlements
develop
rapidly.

The iron-works at Lynn and Braintree were now, in 1645, very successful,⁶ the record says. The £20 limit of the shares was raised to £100, and each town was given an opportunity to take one, £1,200 to £1,500 having been expended upon the enterprise. They had cast some tons of "sow" iron, and had provided a portion of the mate-

¹ 4 *M. H. C.*, vi. 377.

² 4 *M. H. C.*, vi. 377.

³ *W. Work. Providence*, p. 199.

⁴ Drake, p. 68.

⁵ Felt, *Annals*, ii. 396.

⁶ *M. C. R.*, ii. 103.

rials necessary for a forge, but this required £1,500 to complete it. Henry Webb, under direction of the other undertakers, J. Winthrop, Jr., Major Sedgwick, and Joshua Hewes, will receive¹ toward this sum, money, beaver, wheat, coals, or any commodity which will satisfy the workmen. Ample privileges² were granted the workers in iron to take all waste places, timber, stones, iron ore, clay, or furze, and the right to build roads, pools, dams, watercourses, etc., in any waste places.³

Regulations of the sale of spirits occupied much attention in all the colonies; a distiller in Boston is allowed to sell strong waters in quantities of "a glass, more or less, not keeping any tippling or drinking thereof,"⁴ in his house.

The internal troubles in England lessened the export of stuffs and cloths. American supplies suffered.

Wool-grow-ing. Wool was needed, and measures must be devised to stimulate the increase of the flocks. The legislators of the Bay⁵ direct the towns to inquire how many persons will buy sheep under three years old, at 40s., to encourage the growth of wool. Stiff old Endicott, negotiating in behalf of Winthrop with a keen woman trader who has been offered £10 for her horse, writes, "hee is a costlie horse, & I think 10*l.* will hardlie fetch him."⁶ Tide-mills were tried at various points with but little success. One was built at Guilford,⁷ Conn., and the cost is quoted in the next year at £75. Gloves were important relatively in the colonial toilette, and the glovers petitioned⁸ against the export of undressed goatskins. The prohibition was practical, for R. Woory has the liberty of sending 8 dozen. The control of wages was a fruitful source

¹ Pattee, *Braintree*, p. 454.

² *M. C. R.*, iii. 58.

³ *M. A.*, lix. 14.

⁴ *M. A.*, lix. 25.

⁵ *M. C. R.*, ii. 105.

⁶ *4 M. H. C.*, vi. 149.

⁷ Smith, p. 35.

⁸ *M. C. R.*, ii. 135; iii. 45.

of legislation. It is said¹ that in all public works of the United Colonies a magistrate was empowered to impress laborers and artificers, awarding such pay as he deemed just. No cattle or goods could be impressed without a warrant based on a particular act of the General Court. In Massachusetts² laborers cannot be forced to take wine in payment, and workmen are forbidden to sell wine. Artificers³ are compelled to work in harvest husbandry at fair prices; this act is repeated⁴ in the year 1646.

The trade with Indians, an important element in the economic development of this period, is carried on by bodies of adventurers with particular chartered privileges. For example, Saltonstall and others are granted a monopoly,⁵ for twenty years, of trading houses to be established fifty miles from any English plantation; this is not to interfere with a former grant to Hill and others.

Wisdom halts when fettered by dogma in any age. Winthrop signifies coolly that an explosion in an accidental fire of some gunpowder kept by John Johnson, surveyor general of ammunition, was caused by providential dispensation in that the Court⁶ had neither paid for the powder promptly, nor had it afforded military aid to brethren in Virginia and in Plymouth. Johnson, an artless Puritan, lauded by Winthrop, divides his property "equally unto my five children, my eldest son having a double portion therein, according to the word of God."⁷

Joseph Jenks petitioned,⁸ 1646, and the Bay granted,⁹ a patent for fourteen years "to build a mill for the making of scythes;¹⁰ and also a new in-

¹ Chalmers, *P. A.*, p. 193.

² *M. C. R.*, ii. 100; iii. 37.

³ *M. C. R.*, iii. 180.

⁴ *M. C. R.*, iii. 102.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁶ Winthrop, ii. 259.

⁷ Winthrop, ii. 259 (*Sav.*).

⁸ *M. A.*, lix. 26.

⁹ *M. C. R.*, ii. 149; iii. 275.

¹⁰ Newhall, *Lynn*, p. 235; *M. C. R.*, iii. 386.

Jenks's inventions.

vented sawmill and divers other engines for making of divers sorts of edge-tools, whereby the country may have such necessaries in short time at far cheaper rates than now they can." The sawmill was an improvement on those already running. The invention improving the scythe, and of the machine to make it, was a most important step in mechanical development. Jenks thickened the back of his scythe; at the same time he lightened and lengthened the blade, increasing its cutting force, and thus giving the mower great advantage in the crucial struggle of the harvest time. The leader of a mowing-field was honored among men, a rustic hero in the uncertain season when hay must be secured or perish. Little advance over Jenks's invention was made until the machine mowers of our century came into being. Grass was the foundation of New England agriculture; cut and dried into hay, it became the stay of industry, the maintenance of animal life through the hard winters. Few men have projected acknowledged inventions through two centuries of industry. Jenks made his engines and tools at a forge in the Leader or Saugus iron-works of Lynn.

Tile earth for making saleware must be dug according to careful regulations.¹ The shoemakers of Boston, complaining of much bad work produced by their craft, ask that they may be joined in one large company, that "all boots might be alike made well."² New Haven³ exported shoes in the following year. The coopers⁴ form a similar corporation in the year following. Indians both help and hinder. New Haven has planted a trading post within six Dutch miles of the Hudson River⁵ in the present Dutchess County; and there are complaints through the colonies that the Indians destroy the pitch and tar.⁶

¹ *M. C. R.*, ii. 180.

² *Mass. Arch.*, lix. 29.

³ Atwater, p. 220.

⁴ *Mass. Arch.*, lix. 33.

⁵ O' Callaghan, *New Neth.*, p. 375.

⁶ Hazard, *H. C.*, i. 62.

Trading posts are taxed two pence for each beaver, otter, bear, or moose skin.¹

In New Haven,² bakers made the family bread of three kinds. With wheat at 6s. 6d. the penny white loaf must weigh six ounces, the penny wheat loaf nine and a half ounces, and the penny household loaf twelve and a quarter ounces.

Connecticut³ regulates carefully the use of tobacco, wine, and strong waters.

In 1647, Rhode Island made better headway in commerce than in domestic industries. Land and timber was granted Nicholas Esson for a water-mill at Portsmouth in 1638.⁴ Indian corn at 4s. per bu. was made a legal tender in 1641.⁵ The early records of the plantation at Providence are very scanty. Roger Williams maintained an intimate correspondence with the younger Winthrop, who was one of the most enterprising of the colonists. Williams is able to instruct him at this date⁶ in the sowing of hayseed, and it signifies that there was good husbandry in the plantation.

In this year 1648, Indian corn is scarce, and Ninigret is supplying both the Pequot and the Providence settlements. Williams quotes the price at 4s.⁷ per bushel.

The best work of the Lynn furnace, according to any direct report, is at this time. Winthrop, noting the discovery of copper by Endicott, says, "The furnace runs 8 tons per week, and their bar iron is as good as Spanish."⁸ Leader kept the confidence of the undertakers in preference to a Mr. Dawes, who had been sent from England to supersede him. Dawes returned by way of Teneriffe.

Mining, always uncertain, was especially hazardous in

¹ Felt, *Mass. Curr.*, p. 28.

² Atwater, p. 224.

³ *Conn. C. R.*, ii. p. 153.

⁴ *R. I. C. R.*, i. 62.

⁵ *R. I. C. R.*, i. 118.

⁶ *Nar. Club*, vi. 146.

⁷ *Nar. Club*, vi. 164.

⁸ Winthrop, Savage, ii. 435.

our colonies. Richard Vines¹ brought over from Derbyshire William White, a skilled miner, who tried Mining. to turn the imperfect ores of York, Maine, into good metal. He found that "the spirit of solidity and fusion was not in them." John Winthrop Jr.'s restless spirit and active intellect treats in 1648 with Commissioners of the Court² for a franchise to make salt from sea-water. He is to deliver each family one bushel of salt for a bushel of wheat or other grain, or for an equal value, the first year; the second year, to each family two bushels salt at 3s.; the third year, two hundred tons of salt at 2s. per bushel. Emanuel Downing³ writes that Leader has cast the iron pans to be used in the process. Downing began distilling in Salem⁴ this year. Frequent commerce with the West Indies carried out unmerchantable fish to be exchanged for molasses. This was converted into rum, giving to the fishermen, lumbermen, and pipe-stave makers the stimulus they craved with their hard fare of pork and Indian corn.

Values of property are not easily rendered in these Prices of times; but we have a few facts to help us in the land. estimate. William Trask exchanges 250 acres in Salem⁵ for 500 apple-trees of three years' growth in Governor Endicott's famous orchard. The estate of E. Ingalls, a farmer in Lynn,⁶ is inventoried at £135 8s. 10d., including a house and about sixty acres of land at £60. William Southmead's house in Gloucester⁷ is valued at £8, and his feather-bed, bedstead, and appurtenances at the same sum. The farmers' dwellings of this century were rude, small, and without the ell addition⁸ now so common. The style of building improved considerably not long after 1700.

¹ Folsom, *Saco and B.*, p. 74.

² *M. C. R.*, ii. 229.

³ 4 *M. H. C.*, vi. 68.

⁴ Felt, *Annals*, ii. 167.

⁵ Felt, i. 253.

⁶ Newhall, p. 111.

⁷ Babson, p. 219.

⁸ Winsor, *Duxbury*, p. 70.

One Easton, dating from 1649, is the first tanner in Newbury.¹ The plantation at Providence could not have been well supplied, for Williams, at his post in Narragansett, is obliged to import corn from Hempstead, paying 6s. for Indian and 8s. for wheat, which he considers "extraordinary dear."² The pangs caused by this scarcity were ameliorated somewhat by hopes of gold,³ which was reported on Rhode Island. The news of this discovery created great excitement in the whole colony. Williams sent some of the ore to Winthrop, whose better knowledge soon dissipated these golden dreams.

All the colonies charged the Bay with an arbitrary and harsh spirit in its intercourse with the sister governments. A dispute arose concerning the charges collected by Connecticut — two pence per bu. on corn, one penny per lb. or 20s. per hogshead on beaver — to maintain the fort at Saybrook, commanding the mouth of the river.⁴ Massachusetts⁵ resisted in behalf of Springfield, and now laid retaliatory duties on goods from Plymouth, Connecticut, or New Haven. Connecticut⁶ cannot master the prices of wages or corn, and repeals these acts, leaving all bargains free. New Haven⁷ is by this time well supplied with artisans. The chief event in Massachusetts was sad, for Winthrop died in 1649.

That moving principle of our communities, which devotes every resource and the service of every member of society to the common ends and the common good of the state, attracted the notice of foreign observers. It was reported to the Dutch government at the Hague in 1650⁸ that "in New England all the

Disputes between Massachusetts and Connecticut.

Public spirit in New England.

¹ Coffin, p. 52.

² *Nar. Club*, vi. 184.

³ Staples, *An. Prov.*, p. 72.

⁴ Trumbull, *Conn.*, i. 165, 183; *Conn. Col. Rec.*, ii. 189.

⁵ *M. C. R.*, iv. pt. 1, 120.

⁶ *Conn. C. R.* 1649, p. 205.

⁷ Atwater, p. 216.

⁸ *Doc. Col. N. Y.*, i. 364.

property and means of the people are appraised by the magistrates." Taxes are assessed for the pay of the governor and officials, and the military; for the salary and residence of ministers and school-masters; for the erection and repairs of churches and school-houses; for all public edifices and bridges, for the erection and repairs of ordinaries for travellers, for maintenance of the university at Boston and its accessories, for the expenses of general assemblies in each province four times a year, of the General Court once a year; in event of war, all the towns furnish quotas. This is not strictly accurate, but it is marvellous that the New England community could have established its functions so thoroughly in hardly a score of years, and could have thus impressed observers and critics, who were competitors in a neighboring colony.

Rum was much used by the common people, and malt liquor. liquors were the favorite drink of the English colonists. The native New England beverage was cider, and the presses began to work about 1650. Much barley had been raised in Plymouth.¹ The many malt-houses were not so common after this. Massachusetts had planted apple-trees generally, and Henry Wolcott introduced them into the Connecticut valley, producing fruit before 1649. He sold both trees and fruit, charging sometimes £20 in one bill. Apples were 6s. to 8s.² per bu.; cider 1s. 8d. per gallon, or £4 4s. per hhd.; and a half bushel of quinces brought 4s.³

The United Colonies made its administration felt; it had forbidden trade with the Indians in 1649. This year it obtains a more stringent agreement from the Dutch, enabling any person to seize vessels or goods found violating the order.⁴ The Dutch complained that Pynchon, of

¹ 2 Mass. H. C., iii. 188.

² The increase of trees must have been rapid, for the price was 2s. 6d. to 3s. in 1654.

³ Stiles, *Windsor*, pp. 478, 479.

⁴ Hazard, H. C., i. 134, 173.

Springfield, had "damnified trade," paying as much as eleven guilders to the Indians for one beaver skin.¹ The Commissioners of the Colonies answer that "trade is free."

Connecticut, which sometimes reflects in its action notions too severe for Massachusetts, enacts the following order — preposterous in these days, but entirely characteristic of the time: "No foreigners can Narrow re-strictions upon trades. retaile any goods, nor shall any Inhabitant retayle any goods belonging to a foreigner."² Of course it could not be enforced. Johnson,³ after much lugubrious wailing, admits that Boston had settled into the conviction that sinful men must be received, and even encouraged, because they brought profits to merchants, vintners, etc. These indications prove that the inevitable expansion of a closely guarded community into a commonwealth manifests itself about this time. New England ceases to be a Puritan conventicle, and lays the foundations of a nation.

In the next year, 1651, Johnson⁴ says that many withdrew their support from the government, pretending that they were over-taxed, and that pride and excess in apparel were frequent. The colony was growing richer, wealth brought a better style of living, the burdens of state grew heavier. Winthrop, the stay of wise administration, was gone; it all tended to make the simple ways of primitive government more complicated and difficult.

The rate of interest is 8 per cent., which the Court⁵ allows Mrs. Winthrop on her legacy. The iron-works must have been doing well, for William Iron again. Aubrey⁶ buys a water-front in Boston for the use of the "undertakers." John Endicott had mined some copper ore, for he asks⁷ and the Court grants a tract of woodland,

¹ Hazard, *H. C.*, ii. 155.

² *Conn. C. R.*, ii. 562.

³ *W. Work. Prov.*, p. 215.

⁴ *W. Work. Prov.*, p. 221.

⁵ *M. C. R.*, iii. 226.

⁶ *Mem. H. Bos.*, i. 500.

⁷ *M. Arch.*, lix. 45.

where he intended to start smelting works. He had begun operations, even sending to Germany and Sweden for skilled workmen, but the supply of ore soon failed.

A tide-mill (Baker's, which was sold in 1684 for £15) was known at the landing in Roxbury¹ as early as 1650. In that same year John Hoitt, a brickmaker, moved from Ipswich to Haverhill,² the town granting him three quarters of an acre and the clay pits.

Regulating the brewers was only less difficult than controlling tipplers. The Court³ decrees that no one shall make beer except a good brewer: beer to be sold at 3d. a quart must carry 6 bushels of barley or malt to the hhd.; 2d. a quart, 4 bushels of malt; 1d. a quart, 2 bushels of malt, and less in proportion.

Prescription and privilege contend with the inevitable destiny which unfetters trade. Connecticut⁴ enacts that the people of each town must have the first privilege in buying corn. The harassed settlers at Shawomet, or Warwick, R. I.,⁵ are gaining, for they found a gristmill, with the usual toll.

Massachusetts began in 1652 an enterprise of great economic importance, the political consequences of which never worked themselves out. She coined money. England was hardly able to prevent this action at the moment, but it is remarkable that she allowed the trespass to go on for more than thirty years.⁶ Advocates and opponents of American independence, as it was finally

¹ Drake, p. 325.

² Chase, p. 71.

³ Mass. Arch., l ix. 43. ⁴ Col. Rec.

⁵ Fuller, p. 44.

⁶ Under the doubtful date of 1661 (*Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1661-68, p. 26), the Council considers a petition stating that the Massachusetts "have allowed the King's coin to be bought and melted down in Boston to be new coined there, by which means they gain three pence in every shilling, and lessen his Majesty's Coin a full fourth." The criticism seems to bear on the reduction of sterling standard, rather than on the assumption of sovereignty in establishing the mint.

achieved, admit that this act far exceeded any right in being in the charters. If there be any sovereignty, certainly seigniorage is one of its first attributes. In fact, the whole European system of colonisation was so crude that it fell in pieces from various causes. Arbitrary France and Spain strangled the individual energies which might have been; while constitutional England, grasping at the trade and new resources of the young communities, neglected those offshoots of sovereignty which finally grappled with the royal power and overthrew it.

The large trade and intercourse with the West Indies brought in much Spanish silver. Counterfeit coin came also; and John Hull mentions the loss and "stoppage of trade" caused thereby, as a chief motive in establishing the mint, which should bring all coin to the sterling standard. "Every shilling to be three pennyweight; *i. e.* 9d. at 5s. per oz., and they made choice of me for that employ^t; and I chose my friend, Rob. Sanderson, to be my partner."¹ Our old friend, Joseph Jenks, made the dies. There were twelvepenny, sixpenny, and threepenny pieces. "Masathusets" surrounding a tree, all in relief, is on one side; New England, the year of our Lord, and the denomination in pence, is raised on the reverse side. The twelvepenny was the famous pine-tree shilling; it was the one twelfth of a pound of \$3.33 $\frac{1}{3}$, or three quarters of the estimated pound sterling. The Boston men intended to make a coin which should be good bullion, but which should be, in comparison with the English pound sterling, a token which might stay in New England. As will appear, they failed in their effort to control the currency of silver, which moves by laws of its own. The New England money served to regulate prices, but there was not enough of it to make a working currency. The Chisholm accounts of Harvard College,² kept in detail from 1650 to 1659, show few payments in silver. Country pay, reg-

¹ J. Hull, *Diaries*, p. 145.

² Palfrey, ii. 399.

ulated barter, was the accepted medium of exchange. Wealthy men, and prominent men like Governor Dudley, paid the college bills of their sons in produce.

Ponds on the seaboard, especially in the counties of Plymouth and Bristol, Massachusetts, deposited ^{Bog iron ore.} large quantities of oxide or sesquioxide of iron.¹ It mingled with vegetable mould, and, combining with water, partially solidified into spongy bog iron ore, or crystallised into a more compact hydrate. If it was removed, the iron-bearing springs would form a new deposit in twenty to thirty years. A single source often gave 100 to 600 tons of ore annually, yielding twenty-five per cent. or more of crude iron. Sea shells furnished a flux which easily fused it, and when mixed with silicious ores the product was a fairly good metal for castings. The Leonards, from South Wales, had worked at Lynn, and now removed to Raynham or Taunton,² where they started a bloomery and forge. The operation was successful, making good bar iron from the local ores,³ and was the pioneer of many iron-works in this region, some of which have continued with varying results to the present time. This family identified itself with the business so thoroughly that it was a common remark in the vicinity, "Where you find iron-works, there you will find a Leonard."

John Clarke made an invention for "saving and warming rooms, which the Court⁴ patented for three years, granting a royalty of 10s. for each person using it. This was of sufficient importance to be extended, in 1656, during the lifetime of the inventor. But we hear nothing more of it. It would be interesting to know how

¹ Bishop, *Hist. Manuf.*, i. 479.

² Baylies, *Plymouth*, ii. 268.

³ *Mag. Am. Hist.*, x. 157. This account puts the date of the organisation of the company at 1656.

⁴ *M. C. R.*, iii. 283.

much it was used, for the modern stove was not invented until about a century later.

Connecticut begins salt-works, and land is granted for the same purpose in Ipswich, Mass.¹ Winthrop's sawmill is under way at New London, for the next year the General Court of Connecticut grants him the timber of "three or four swamps wherever he can find any wood fit to saw."²

Henry Webb's one third part of a sawmill at York was valued at £250 in 1660.³

A curious effort at civilisation, astray and ahead of its proper time, appears in the petition of Ralph Fogg to the General Court for the privilege of an intelligence office or exchange at Salem. It was not granted.

Celtic blood mingled early in the New England stream. The home government grants in 1653 a license⁴ to carry 400 Irish children to New England and Virginia. This had positive results, for we have notice of "one ship by the way of Ireland that brought 90 passengers for servants."⁵

Wool was now a regular article of merchandise, for Massachusetts⁶ prescribes that it shall be washed when offered for sale. Johnson estimates the ^{Increase of wool.} number of sheep at 3,000 in that colony: the date is doubtful, but Palfrey⁷ puts it at 1652, and with reason. Connecticut had few sheep; but J. Winthrop, Jr., had some from Wm. Coddington, of Rhode Island, as early as 1648.⁸ Plymouth establishes a fulling or "clothing" mill, through the enterprise of James Torrey, at Scituate.⁹ Maverick,¹⁰ in his description of New England about 1660, notes the thrifty manufactures of Rowley that "drive a pretty trade." They consisted of "Cloath and Ruggs of

¹ Felt, *Ipswich*, p. 98. ² *Conn. Col. R.*, ii. 253.

³ *Suffolk P. R.*, iv. 55. ⁴ *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1574-1660, p. 407.

⁵ *4 Mass. H. C.*, vii. 462. ⁶ *M. C. R.*, iii. 298.

⁷ *New England*, ii. 53. ⁸ *4 M. H. C.*, vii. 279.

⁹ Deane, p. 17. ¹⁰ *N. E. Hist. and Gen. R.*, xxxix. 37.

cotton wool, and also Sheeps wooll." The site was occupied by the same industry for a century. Downing writes to Winthrop that a weed growing in abundance about Salem produces an indigo better than the West Indian, and equal to that from the East Indies. It is always thus easy for colonists to err in estimating new products. Johnson's enthusiastic estimate of the abundance of hides and leather gets some confirmation in one inventory of 1653.¹ This shows 415 hides in the bark at £600; 45 do. in the lime at £33 15s.; 312 West India do. at £187. These are large figures for the time. We perceive the extent of the iron industry at Braintree or Quincy by the valuation, made under this date. The works, forge, dam, water power, etc., are appraised at £297 10s.; 350 loads of coal is worth £197 10s.; cast iron, £6 per ton; and ten tons of bar iron, £10 per ton.²

The demand for labor tends to ameliorate the harsh customs of the time regarding apprenticeship.
_{Apprentice-}ship. It seems marvellous now that a law was ever needed to release apprentices deserted by their masters. The Court was obliged to make a statute³ releasing them from obligations to absconding masters. Apprentices were not to be held for the debts of their masters unless a regular assignment of their services was made.

The coin of the new mint would not stay. An ordinance⁴ is passed in 1654 forbidding the export of more than twenty shillings by one person, and an inspector is appointed at each port to enforce it. Hull⁵ says in his diary that each offender was decreed the loss of his whole visible estate. All contracts in kind are to be satisfied in the kind contracted, or "if in default of the very kind"⁶ they are settled in another commodity, then the damage is to be made up.

¹ *Suffolk, P. R.*, iii. 3.

² Pattee, *Braintree*, p. 460.

³ *M. C. R.*, iv. part 1, 150.

⁴ *M. C. R.*, iv. part 1, 198.

⁵ *Diarie*, p. 290.

Wool becomes more and more important. No ewes¹ or ewe lambs shall be exported except to other colonies. The petition on which the act is based states that clothing is scarce.² Boston obtains a fire engine of Joseph Jenks,³ the first of its kind made in this hemisphere.

Presidents of colleges have always helped the social movements around them. Education plants itself in books, but it draws little from that soil unless nourished also by the free atmosphere and abounding life springing from contact with actual people, and from the passions and sufferings of a living community. President Dunster, of Harvard, petitions the county court that sister Bradish⁴ be encouraged in her present calling for baking of bread and brewing, and selling of penny beer, without which she cannot continue to bake. Brewing needed encouragement, for the General Court⁵ was obliged to forbid the importation of malt under a penalty of 12*d.* per bushel.

John Prescott is granted land for a cornmill at Lancaster, Mass.⁶

Agriculture and commerce occupy Rhode Island, and her settlements are increasing gradually. Mr. White is at Warwick. "Many⁷ of us have thoughts of trying his skill about a new bridge at Providence." There was activity enough to require a general license for houses of entertainment in 1647. She now repeals this, and authorises one or two in each town.⁸ The attempt to establish iron-works at or near Providence failed. Mr. Foote⁹ an English expert, "moved once and again" in the affair without success. At the same time he was negotiating with Winthrop for a similar undertaking at Pequot.

Social influence of education.

¹ *M. C. R.*, iii. 355.

² *Mass. Arch.* ix. 116.

³ Newhall, *Lynn*, p. 235.

⁴ *Paige, Cambridge*, p. 228.

⁵ *Mass. Arch.*, ix. 116.

⁶ *Wor. Co. Mag.* iii. 285.

⁷ *Nar. Club*, vi. 284.

⁸ *R. I. C. R.*, i. 280.

⁹ 4 *M. H. C.*, vi. 290.

William Seward is tanning at Guilford,¹ Ct.; and at Windsor² the enterprising Henry Wolcott is selling apples at 2.6d. to 3s. per bu.; cider at 1.8d. per gall., or £4.4 per hhd. The cider soon became famous, for Williams writes to Winthrop in 1660: "Your loving lines were as a cup of your Connecticut cider."³

The troubles continue about rates collected by Connecticut at Fenwick's fort at Saybrooke.⁴

Organised benevolence, the spirit of charity in active work, crops out early in Boston. John Hull⁵ records, 1655, that about 20 persons agreed to contribute for a "house and materials to improve the children and youth (who want employment) in several manufactures."

There was plenty of salt in the water, and great efforts were made to extract it for use upon the dry land. The fisheries lived upon it. Gloucester⁶ grants Elias Parkman "wood and timber from the run of water as runneth out at the beach by the salt-work." At the same time it incorporates the principle, so easy in theory, so hard in practice, that the town must have an especial benefit from its own opportunities and industries. It provides that the townspeople shall have salt at 6d. per bu. cheaper than others.

Either the new coinage or the increase of other commodities strengthens the currency sufficiently to dispense with Indian corn. The Bay⁷ declares Indian unmerchantable; and that persons moving from one plantation to another or out of the country, from November to March 10th, cannot pay rates in corn. The distinction is significant between residents and emigrants, which assigns a particular kind of currency to each.

¹ Smith, p. 19.

² Stiles, pp. 478, 479.

³ *Nar. Club*, vi. 306.

⁴ *Conn. C. R.*, p. 271.

⁵ Hull's *Diaries*, p. 178.

⁶ Babson, p. 120.

⁷ *Mass. C. R.*, iv. part 1, 253.

Abundance and increased comforts, through better farming, the fisheries, and commerce, did not make life altogether easy. There could not have been entire content, or the sagacious Cromwell would have hardly busied himself with plans for removing these colonies in a body. In 1651 he had proposed to transport and settle them in Ireland. Jamaica was now occupied by the English army, and the Protector offered great inducements, through Daniel Gookin and by positive orders in council,¹ for New England to remove the population in a body to that island. Every kind of privilege in that abounding soil and climate was offered to the godly people of these harsh regions if they would pull up their hard-won homes, carry the meeting-house across the warm seas, and plant the saints in the richer tropics. New Haven was tempted somewhat, for they had already considered a transfer to Delaware, and expended £1,000 for Indian titles, explorations, etc.,² but nothing came of it. The Bay considered the matter warily, careful not to offend their powerful ruler. In the next year they declined his proposals definitely.³

Cromwell had made a treaty⁴ with the French in 1655 which gave a better outlet to English goods. Trade was active enough to allow the English government in 1660 to lay an export duty⁵ of 3s. 4d. on a piece of 28 yards of woollen broadcloth, as well as on other commodities. The export of sheep, of wool and woollen yarns, was prohibited. This whole movement of the European market was felt in the colonies. The Massachusetts General Court⁶ in 1656, "fearing that it will not be so easy to import clothes

¹ *Cal. Br. S. P. Col. 1574-1660*, pp. 429, 432.

² *4 M. H. C.*, vii. 549.

³ Yet in 1660 the Privy Council proposed "to hasten the settlement of New Eng. affairs, from whence good store of men may be expected," *i. e.* to emigrate to Jamaica. *Cal. Br. S. P. Col. 1660*, p. 491.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. 481.

⁴ Macpherson, *An. Com.*, ii. 464.

⁶ *Mass. Arch.*, lix. 74.

as it was in past years, thereby necessitating more home manufacture," orders the selectmen in every town to turn the women, girls, and boys toward spinning and weaving. The officials are to consider each family, and to assess it for one or more spinners, or for a fractional part. "That every one thus assessed do after this present year 1656 spin for 30 weeks every yeare, a pound per weeke of lining cotton or wooling and so proportionably for halfe or quarter spinners under the penalty of 12d. for every pound short." The commons are to be cleared for sheep, rams are to be inspected, hemp and flax seeds are to be saved and to be sown.¹ This was a deliberate and positive step in economic production, and a further extension of that minute patriarchal government which we have seen in so many forms. It was carried out in the towns. Classes of five, six, and ten were arranged under class-leaders.²

John Winthrop, Jr.,³ is granted a patent by the Bay for twenty-one years for making salt by a process of his own.

The manufacture of cider had become so general that it was much used at funerals, — cold in summer, in the winter heated and spiced.⁴ The Indians pounded their corn into samp with a rude pestle and mortar. This method of preparing the grain served the settlers well before their wind and watermills were ready to grind the horny kernels into the soft, nutritious meal. It lingered among them for an uncertain period. A mill for making these samp mortars was in operation in Salem⁵ in 1656.

The first sawmill in Plymouth⁶ starts in Scituate, and another appears in Ipswich,⁷ the first in that town.

Connecticut⁸ has increased her domestic productions sufficiently to justify careful regulations for butchers and

¹ *M. C. R.*, iii. 396.

² Felt, *Ipswich*, p. 100.

³ *Mass. Arch.*, lix. 72.

⁴ Newhall, *Lynn*, p. 236.

⁵ Felt, *Annals*, ii. 178.

⁶ 2 *M. H. C.*, ix., x. 225.

⁷ Felt, *Ipswich*, p. 95.

⁸ *C. Col. R.*, pp. 285, 289.

tanners, that the hides may be better handled and that better leather may be dressed.

The receipt of commodities — country pay — for taxes brings a loss upon the treasury, notwithstanding the most careful regulations. The Massachusetts General Court¹ allows the treasurer £10 for loss on grain in two years.

A house in Essex² County, 38x17 ft., 11 ft. stud., clap-boarded, with three chimneys, is sold for £45 in corn and cattle.

One of the most interesting characters among the early colonists was Samuel Gorton, a mystical intellect, strongly possessed by theories of government traversing Puritan ideas even more rudely than Williams's crossed them, — a man out of his time, and unfortunate in the circumstances fettering him. He was oppressed beyond measure by the Massachusetts men in the settlement he founded at Shawomet, or Warwick, R. I. This was now a frontier post in the disputed lands, and existed by the sufferance of the natives. At this time a pair of Indian breeches sold there for 7s. 6d. in wampum at 6 a penny.³

The market could not have been benefited by the stringent measures to control coin, and to retain it in the home trade. Certain wine merchants had farmed the licenses at Boston, and had paid £160 for the privilege of the sales there. They now, in 1657, ask a release or a consideration,⁴ "for the want of shipping which were wont formerly to come, and the scarcity of money which is the life of trading." There must have been facts existing to afford any ground for a petition. Corn was not universally plenty, for the late constable of Salisbury petitions that boards be allowed in his tax accounts, having taken them from people who had no corn.⁵ Hemp was cultivated enough, under the pressure

¹ *M. C. R.*, iii. 417.

² *Essex Inst.*, vii. 39.

³ Fuller, *Warwick*, p. 51.

⁴ *Mass. Arch.*, ix. 22.

⁵ Felt, *Mass. Curr.*, p. 37.

exercised by the Court, to employ a mill. Richard Shatswell is allowed to set up a mill to break it at "the Falls" in Ipswich.¹

In 1655 John Pierpont and others had "sett down a Brest Mill or Undershott, where the old mill stood" in Roxbury,² and this year he is allowed to erect a fulling-mill. Another was licensed upon the Neponset River in Dorchester³ in 1659. There were now several at work, and the woolen cloth manufacture was of sufficient importance to occupy the Court in regulating it. The following year a committee is appointed to bring in an ordinance against deceit in making and dressing cloth.⁴

Casco Bay grants a sawmill to Robert Jordan.⁵

Winthrop writes⁶ to his son Fitz John that a partnership projected between Yale and Clerke, for mining black lead, has been abandoned. They dug some, but the work was too difficult, requiring fires to break the rocks. Connecticut has been diffuse in statutes for morals; she has now made enough economic progress to reduce her grist-mills to one standard in tolling and pottle-dishes, striking instruments, etc.

Connecticut⁷ fines "David the Jew" 20s. in 1659 for going into houses when heads of families are absent and trading with the children for provisions. Fifteen Hebrew families had arrived at Newport from Holland the previous year.⁸

The rate of interest was reduced to six per cent. in England,⁹ but it did not affect our rates until late in the century.

The supply of timber and lumber seemed to be large,

¹ Felt, p. 96.

² Drake, p. 325.

³ *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 188.

⁴ *M. C. R.*, iv., part 1, 380.

⁵ *Maine H. C.*, i. 76.

⁶ *5 M. H. C.*, viii. 49.

⁷ *Conn. C. R.*, p. 343.

⁸ *Mag. Am. Hist.*, iv. 456.

⁹ Macpherson, *An. Commerce*, ii. 479.

but the demand for export was heavy and continuous. Many towns feared a scarcity, and limited the cutting by various expedients. Rowley¹ provides, 1660, that no clap-board stuff, etc., shall be carried away, unless it be first "wrought up."

The Massachusetts General Court sends a committee to ask the mint master for an *honorarium*, "having forborne so long."² We do not find that any was paid.

One third of a sawmill at York sells for £250.³

Iron-works began at Concord,⁴ Mass.

The use of cider was increasing, but malt was much needed and sometimes imported. Massachusetts⁵ prohibited the importation, and this year admitted it again. The colonists learned to make malt of Indian corn from the natives. To get the best, they removed the surface soil for two or three inches, spread and covered the corn, allowing it to spring up and grow for ten to fourteen days, producing a root and blade about a finger in length. It was then taken up, shaken, and dried. The malting was not thorough without previous germination. I find Indian malt with barley malt in the inventory of Arthur Smith at Hartford⁶ in 1655.

We note in 1661, "wheele cards and cotton woole to Employ the Indian weemen att the vinyards £10."⁷ It would interest us to know just what those wheel cards were. There was paid £1 for clothing an Indian on his first coming to school.

John Hull renders a small account⁸ with John Winthrop, amounting to £5 or £6. He credits 8 bushels wheat at 4s. 3d., saying that he was forced to give three months' time. He could have obtained only 4s. for prompt cash.

¹ *Hist. Rowley*, p. 143.

² *M. C. R.*, iv. part 1, 134.

³ *Suffolk Probate R.*, 455.

⁴ *Shattuck*, p. 43.

⁵ *M. C. R.*, iv. part 1, 418.

⁶ *Hartford County Ct. Probate R.*, vol. ix.

⁷ *Hazard, H. C.*, ii. 444.

⁸ *4 M. H. C.*, vii. 537.

*Our wool
troubles
England.*

The English policy in regulating trade is inexplicable. In 1660 England considered itself independent enough in trade to lay an export duty on many commodities going to the continent. Yet the Council for Foreign Plantations now complains that the trade of New England "is no way managed to the advantage of his Majesty's crown ; they pretend an exemption to the payment of customs and importing very little to the balance of their exportation ; that contrary to the policies and restrictions heretofore observed, they have increased a stock of sheep to nearly one hundred thousand, whereby not only this nation and the manufactures thereof are become less necessary to them, but they are likely to be so stored with wool that the Dutch, who trade freely with them, may supply themselves from thence."¹ This number of sheep was exaggerated probably, but the increase had been large, and it is certain that there was a good supply of wool for domestic manufactures. The full effect of the increase is registered in the taxable rates, which are lowered in the next year from 25s. to 10s. for sheep ; the common price had fallen 75 per cent.²

There was not much immigration, but a few persons were coming. Emigration from England to the West Indies was fostered, and there were serious abuses in stealing and transporting women and children. There was a great demand for wives among the planters. The Council for Plantations³ considered this stealing and transporting of children and others, obtaining at last (in 1670) an act of parliament to prevent this "spiriting away" of persons under penalty of death. Occasionally ladies of birth were stolen and brought to New England, as family traditions show. In 1651 Coddington, writing to J. Winthrop, Jr., says that Stephen Winthrop has gone to Greenwich "conserneing Mrs. Jaine

¹ *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1661-68, p. 25. ² *M. C. R.*, iv. part 2, 42.

³ *Ibid.*, p. xxix.

Puckering, a Knight's daughter and haire, that was stolne and maryed by an vnworthy person, which mariage was disannulled.”¹

The varying standards of currency are puzzling. There was the legal tender of ordinary commodities, ^{standards of} farm produce, lumber, etc., known as “country currency.” or money pay.” The prices of these articles were generally fixed in the rates for taxes, though Rhode Island in this year, 1662, made them “at such prices as it then goeth to the merchants as moneye pay.”² Then she allowed 40s. in country pay to be commuted into 30s. New England coin, or 22s. 6d. of English sterling coin. This made three positive currencies. In Newbury and Lynn, Mass., a cord of oak wood was worth 1s. 6d., the same as one bushel of turnips.³ Watertown,⁴ Mass., has a fulling-mill. Connecticut prohibits the export of tanned leather. Her tanners had the opportunity of procuring dry hides⁵ which were brought in from Virginia and elsewhere.

The little district we began to treat in 1640 has expanded considerably, and economic life now beats through the best territory of five of the present New England States. Maverick, writing in 1660,⁶ says, “for the Southern part, it is incredible what hath been done there.” Indian corn was “not worth 2s., agriculture had been so productive. All through the land there was plenty of apples, pears, and other fruits, muskmelons, watermelons,” etc. John Winthrop best understood the political outlook of his time; and John the younger, governor of Connecticut, comprehended the economic capabilities of the colonies best. A restless and inventive spirit, always operating

¹ 4 M. H. C., vii. 281.

² R. I. C. R., i. 481.

³ Coffin, *Newbury*, p. 140; Newhall, *Lynn*, p. 252.

⁴ Bond, ii. 1039.

⁵ Caulkins, *New London*, p. 232.

⁶ Description of New England, *Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, xxxix. 47.

in new adventures, as we have seen, he had that judgment withal which does not spend but saves, and consequently he left a good estate. Writing in 1660¹ to an English correspondent, he says :

General condition as now improved by industry.

"Now the country doth send out great store of biscott, flower, peas, beife, porke, butter, & other provisions to the supply of Barbados, Newfoundland, & other places, besides the furnishing out many vessels & fishing boats of their owne. The usual price of wheat is about 4s. per bu., & Indiā Corne about 2s. or 2s. 6d. p. bu. This country also is now well stoced wth horses, cowes, sheepe & goates." He does not include the great item of lumber in his exports, but in another connection he speaks of sawmills and shipbuilding as important factors. If we study these statements they indicate not only abundance, but that well-ordered plenty which comes through busy industries and wise distribution. The wheat becomes flour and biscuit, the corn is made into meat, labor is converted into fish, and the whole is turned over in vessels of their own. In 1641 corn would buy nothing ; no one could pay his debts, even if he had property, which "occasioned many in England to speak ill of us." Now specie might be scarce as a currency, but plenty of commodities were produced which were in demand everywhere, and they would bring exchange.

Active industries and intelligent thrift like this make a basis for any amount of capital, and he advises rich men to come over, or to send good money and exchange. He promises partnerships in fishing, or "some other ingenious worke, as iron workes, potashes, sawmills, building of shipping, searching for mines," though the latter is uncertain and but little tried as yet. Tobacco has brought some good crops, and rape oil (a staple commodity) can be produced. They must bring servants, for these are scarce, and not to be hired for any length of time. He also

¹ 5 Mass. H. C., viii. 65.

advises bringing gold, or Spanish silver pieces of 8; Mexican silver is much alloyed or sweated, and pieces which should be worth 5*s.* often yield only 2*s.* He hears that the New England silver coin has accumulated in London, to be sold for 9*d.* or 10*d.* in the shilling (of its actual value probably, which is 25 per cent. below sterling). Exchange on London he quotes at ten to fifteen per cent.

In 1639 we left the land transport system of Massachusetts, Boston being connected with the main by Roads and ferries. ferries ; a coastwise road as far as the Merrimac ; Plymouth Colony busy with roads ; inns in many towns, even as remote as Portsmouth in Rhode Island ; and with general evidence of activity in the Court of Magistrates, who were enforcing the opening and the better care of highways. It was not too soon. The necessary break in colonial settlement, which cut the umbilical cord of English immigration in 1640, must have come in due course ; had not political causes stopped the transfer of the best English strength to these shores, other causes would have intervened. This break found the settlements emerging from their detached isolation, stretching out lines of communication, travelling, and exchanging both wares and ideas. Without this intercourse, ships could not have been built, and the "country pay" of colonial commodities could not have replaced so quickly the vitalising commercial current of English specie, capital, and prosperous immigrants. This is confirmed by the lately discovered evidence of Maverick, supposed to date from 1660. He notes the communication between "Rehobah" and Boston : "Comone trade carrying & recarrying goods by land in Cart and on Horseback, and they have a very fayre conveyance of goods by water also."¹ We must turn back, and trace up the scattered links of internal improvement and communication during this period of industrial development, 1640-1662.

¹ *N. E. H. and G. Reg.*, xxxix. 44.

The act of 1639 did not enforce itself, for 1641¹ brings many complaints of the highways to the Court. The control of ferries² is remitted to the authorities of each neighborhood.³ "The Bay Road,"⁴ or coastwise communication, was of sufficient importance to call for a special ordinance⁵ for a highway and ferry from the "written tree" at Winnisimmet toward Lynn; double ferriages are lawful after dark. The ferry between Newbury and Salisbury suggests new points of interest. The usual rates are assessed, twopence for a man, great cattle and horses sixpence, etc.; but for "booking," *i. e.* credit, one penny apiece extra is charged. This shows the cruel scarcity of currency, making wampum or any small change very desirable.

In 1640 the Salem Quarterly Court⁶ establishes A. Sandin in an ordinary at Marblehead.

As early as 1641, Joshua Hewes opens the "Greyhound" at Roxbury,⁷ a tavern which was famous ^{Inns.} for more than a century. Apparently the towns could not embrace all the points needing accommodation; the travel on the Bay Road calls for an inn, and the General Court⁸ licenses William Clarke to entertain passengers and cattle at a post between Lynn and Ipswich in 1641. At the same time it will not allow one Davies⁹ to keep a cookshop or to draw wine, because there are "suffi-

¹ *M. C. R.*, i. 317.

² *Ibid.*, p. 338.

³ 1639. The ferry at the North Point (*i. e.* Salem), which was formerly John Stone's, is now granted to Wm. Dixey for three years. He is to keep a horse-boat; a stranger's fare twopence, townsman's a penny; mares, horses, and other beasts, sixpence; goats, calves, and swine, twopence. Sheep not mentioned.

1644. Ferry on Darby Fort Side granted to Thomas Dixey.

1648. Marblehead Ferry reserved to Salem as separation. *Bentley MS.*, Am. Ant. Soc. Copied from old town records.

⁴ Felt, *Ipswich*, p. 50.

⁵ *M. C. R.*, i. 340, 341.

⁶ *Essex Inst.*, vii. 240.

⁷ Drake, p. 162.

⁸ *M. C. R.*, i. 332.

⁹ *M. C. R.*, i. 346.

cient" in Boston and he is offensive. In the following year¹ it smiles on Hugh Gunnison's cookshop with two grades of beer, at two pence and one penny per quart; always providing that he must furnish small beer at the request of guests.

A sure evidence of the increasing trade and commerce of New England is furnished in the action of the Dutch at New York in 1642. They build a fine stone tavern, fronting on the East River, for the especial use of the "numerous strangers who touched at New Amsterdam on their way from New England to Virginia."² The Director General and Council also appoint an English secretary.

Connecticut in 1644³ notes that "strangers are straitened for want of entertainment," and orders each town to provide one sufficient inhabitant to keep an ordinary.

Newbury,⁴ Mass., licenses Tristam Coffyn to keep an ordinary, to sell wine, and to keep a ferry on the Newbury side; and grants the same to George Carr on the Salisbury side of Carr's Island. It is hard to define the policy or want of general policy in the General Court. The above shows local option at work; and in 1645 the Court⁵ decrees that victuallers, wine-drawers, etc., shall be licensed by the local courts, the price of beer being fixed at twopence per qt. But in 1646 a license⁶ is granted J. Bourne for a cookshop at Salem, while he is to sell no beer above one penny per qt. A "Godly" widow of an ordinary keeper gets a local license⁷ in Salem, if "she provide a fitt man that is godly to manage the business."⁷

In 1646 roads are made through Woburn⁸ to Reading and Mystic Bridge. Hampton⁹ is allowed £5 from the

¹ *M. C. R.*, ii. 14.

² O'Callaghan, *New N.* p. 259.

³ *Conn. C. R.*, i. 103.

⁴ Coffin, p. 43.

⁵ *M. C. R.*, iii. 36.

⁶ *M. C. R.*, ii. 147.

⁷ Felt, *An. Salem*, i. 417.

⁸ Sewall, p. 27.

⁹ *M. C. R.*, ii. 165.

next rate toward cart and horse way over the great marsh. The first jury for laying out roads is summoned in Scituate.¹ An interesting item in Rehoboth² reveals the state of the country between Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and also the method of improving the ways. The town is divided into two parts for making and maintaining foot-bridges; the highways leading to them are to be made by the whole town. In 1647 the General Court³ awakes to the urgent necessity of better ways. Travel is more frequent and must be protected. Each town must pay £100 for death, or for damage in proportion, by defective highways and bridges, in Boston, Salem, or elsewhere.

In 1648 a bridge is built in Reading⁴ over the Ipswich River, on the road through Andover⁵ and Haverhill on the way eastward. Dorchester makes "another attempt for a ferry⁶ over to Braintree," which now succeeds.⁷ The largest and finest of the New England streams, the Connecticut, whose valleys are so fertile, had served as a watercourse and way of commerce between the growing colonies for a dozen years or more. It is now banded across, subjected and brought under the domain of settled intercourse. Bissell's Ferry is established at Windsor;⁸ rates, 8d. for a horse, 2d. for the person therewith, or 3d. for a single person. A new way to Connecticut by Nashua was opened this year.⁹

In 1651 a penny ferry was granted in Charlestown,¹⁰ and a bridge crossed the Neponset in Dorchester.¹¹ In 1652 selectmen laid out highways in Roxbury;¹² the General Court¹³ ordered them between Andover and Ips-

¹ Deane, p. 12.

² Bliss, p. 32.

³ *M. C. R.*, ii. 229.

⁴ Eaton, p. 7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iii. 128.

⁶ *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 179.

⁷ *M. C. R.*, iii. 128.

⁸ Stiles, p. 461.

⁹ Winthrop, ii. 325.

¹⁰ Frothingham, p. 147.

¹¹ *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 181.

¹² Drake, p. 50.

¹³ *M. C. R.*, iii. 282.

wich, Andover and Newbury, Andover and Rowley. Let us pause in this summary of roads and inns to imagine the life flowing in and out at the famous "Blue Anchor" at Cambridge.¹ Andrew Belcher was licensed by his townsmen to keep an ordinary, which was confirmed by the County Court in 1654. In 1671 the sign of the "Blue Anchor" was hung out, continuing to 1737, when it was transferred to another house. The Belchers ceased innkeeping in 1705, and transferred this house to Joseph Hovey, who was succeeded by Edmund Angier in 1715.

A curious effort to improve transportation appears in the act² of New Haven, Conn., providing that twelve horses be kept in five towns for public use at fixed rates. And in 1655 Salem³ sells a "town-horse" for £10.14.

Travel was connecting the Maine settlements with the older districts. In 1653 the Massachusetts Commissioners, receiving the submission⁴ of Wells, Saco, and "Cape Porpus," ordered the inhabitants of those towns to make highways "*from house to house*," and clear them and fit them for foot and cart;" also sufficient highways "between towns and towns for horse and foot," before the next County Court, under penalty. This was known as the Kennebunk road by the sea. The Commissioners could not go beyond Wells for lack of a road. Kittery and York were ordered to make "straight and convenient way along East for Man and horse."⁵ A ferry was licensed in 1654 to cross the Saco,⁶ at twopence for the passage. And in Connecticut John Bartlett contracts to keep the Rivulet Ferry in Windsor⁷ at £18 in produce at ordinary price.

Rehoboth had established foot-bridges and highways

¹ Paige, p. 224.

² *New Haven Col. R.*, p. 3.

³ Felt, *An.*, i. 281.

⁴ *Maine H. C.*, i. 102.

⁵ Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 90.

⁶ Folsom, *Saco and Biddeford*, p. 176.

⁷ Stiles, p. 145.

in 1646. The "Common Road" from Providence to Pawtucket Falls afforded the way of communication between Rhode Island and Massachusetts, on through Rehoboth and the early towns of the Old Colony. The date when this was opened is uncertain; by order of the "Town Meeting" of the Proprietors of Providence,¹ in the year 1654, highways of three or four rods were "stated." It is probable that the travel between the two colonies began to need effective roads about this time.

Rhode Island² had made a general license law for taverns in 1647; it now repeals it, and orders each town to appoint one or two houses to entertain strangers, and to encourage those who keep them. The Winnisimmet highway³ was laid out to Reading, Mass.; and the Neponset River horse-bridge goes back to a foot-bridge "with good rayle, the ford being hard and good."

In 1655 the road from Braintree (now Quincy) was laid out through Dorchester;⁴ it passes over Milton Hill to Roxbury, and afterward became the Washington Street of Boston. A ferry over the Merrimac in Haverhill⁵ charges strangers 4*d.* each "if they pay presently, 6*d.* if boott."

An act⁶ marks this year an epoch in communication, for the General Court of Massachusetts orders County bridges an county courts to assess highway bridges on each epoch. town. This shows more travel, with more and better administration.

In 1656 a historic ford in Scituate, across which the Indian had waded for centuries, over which he backed Governor Winthrop in 1632, was superseded by a bridge, that civic span which controls the fierce-running current, a peaceful link between shore and shore, carrying the constant intercourse of industrious peoples back and forth in

¹ Dorr, *R. I. Tracts*, xv. 73.

² *R. I. Col. R.*, i. 280.

³ *M. C. R.*, iii. 330, 345.

⁴ *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 183.

⁵ Chase, p. 84.

⁶ *M. C. R.*, iv. part 1, 231, in 1655.

easy courses. William Barstow¹ built the bridge over the North River, receiving £12 in "country pay." He kept an ordinary,² and was licensed to sell liquors for "passengers that come and go over the bridge." A highway was made between Gloucester³ and Ipswich, another between Concord and Lancaster.⁴ The rough living common to new settlements had encumbered the roads of Dorchester⁵ with timber, stones, hovels, saw pits, clay pits, etc., and the selectmen order them cleared within six weeks under penalty. Salem⁶ did the same in 1660.

In 1658 the Maine settlements provide ferries at Scarborough, and at Falmouth.⁷ In 1659 Reading lays out a "town highway," and the first bridges are built in Lancaster⁸ over the Nashua and the North Rivers. About the same time Northampton people travelled to Windsor and Hartford through Westfield. They went to Springfield by a way on the east side of the river.⁹

We noted the increasing intercourse between Rhode Island and Massachusetts. In 1660 Williams¹⁰ writes to John Winthrop, the younger, that a man with a broken leg was carried from Seekonk to Boston in a horse litter. If he crossed from Providence, which is probable, he went by the "Upper Ferry," now Red Bridge. He certainly went through Rehoboth, and probably through Taunton or Raynham. Dorchester¹¹ notes a "bridge goeing to sea Conke" in 1652. The new iron works or other causes stimulated Concord,¹² Mass., for it made three new bridges.

In 1661 a house was built for John Massey,¹³ and he opened an inn on the hither side of Beverly Ferry; it

¹ Deane, *Scituate*, p. 13.

² Barry, *Hanover*, p. 187.

³ Babson, p. 592.

⁴ *Lancaster Rec.*, p. 45.

⁵ *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 187.

⁶ Felt, *An.*, i. 285.

⁷ *Maine H. C.*, iii. 127.

⁸ *Worcester Mag.*, ii. 286.

⁹ Judd, *Hadley*, p. 42.

¹⁰ *Narr. Club*, vi. 309.

¹¹ *Town Rec.*, *Bos. City Doc.* No. 9, p. 309.

¹² Shattuck, p. 43.

¹³ Felt, *An. Salem*, i. 417.

lasted until 1819, and was long known as "the Old Ferry Tavern." Maine has travellers enough to enable John Cheater to open the first ordinary at Kennebunk.¹ This year the regicides spent nine days journeying from Cambridge to New Haven² by way of Hartford and Guilford.

The bridge over Charles River at Cambridge³ is completed 166², and denotes an era in this kind of public works; it was the largest in the colony, and was known as the "Great Bridge."

These communications and means of travel show us the beginnings of a commonwealth, no longer in settlements and isolated hamlets, but organised for social living and growth. New England was now entering upon its second period, as it is usually termed. The founders were gone, or were lingering in old age; the

Second period of N. E. mature men of the generation now conducting affairs had ceased to be English Pilgrims, and had adapted themselves to the condition of the new life; the young men who were to go through the century were Americans, the offspring of a new nation. They lived in rude comfort generally. Boston, the only place (New Haven having built too largely for its business⁴) deserving to be called a town, was "a city-like Towne crowded on the Sea-bankes and wharfed out with great industry, and cost (about 1650), the buildings beautifull and large; some fancily set forth with Brick,⁵ Tile, Stone, and Slate, and orderly placed with comely streets," — if we look with the partial eyes of Johnson; or as the Old-World prejudiced Royal Commissioners saw it about 1655, "the houses generally wooden, their streets crooked, with little decency and no uniformity."⁶ The

¹ Bourne, p. 86.

² Atwater, p. 423.

³ Paige, p. 195.

⁴ *N. E. H. and G. R.*, xxxix. 47.

⁵ Bricks were made very early. Higginson notes the setting of a kiln in 1630. "New England Plantation," Force, *Tr.*, i. 6.

⁶ *Mem. Hist. Bos.*, i. 534.

"hovels and huts," *i. e.* log cabins of the settlers, had been transformed into "orderly and well-built" houses according to our Puritan Johnson. Accounts agree that the town was partly brick and stone, partly wood. The type of small framed dwellings, that artisans began very early to acquire for homesteads, is seen in the one built in Boston 1640 by John Davys for William Rix, a weaver. It was "16 foot long & 14 foot wide wth a chamber floare finish^t summer & ioysts a cellar floare wth ioysts finish^t the roofe and walles Clapboarded on the outsyde the Chimney framed without dawbing to be done wth hewan timber." It cost £21.¹ A few of the wood dwellings were elegant and spacious, with wide halls and ample rooms, foreshadowing the style and arrangement we know as colonial architecture. The Pierce² house, built in 1640, the Bridgham³ house, dating from 1637, both in Dorchester, are examples of the more comfortable early dwellings.

The Coddington house⁴ at Newport, built in 1650, was two stories, in wood ; the upper overhanging, to afford a better defence, if attacked. This projecting story was used in Providence and other places. Houses of this character were built of oak, with heavy stone chimneys, and were substantial dwellings.⁵ They generally had small windows with diamond panes. Many of the Con-

¹ Lechford, *Note Book*, p. 302.

² *Mem. Hist. Bos.*, p. 431.

³ *Mem. Hist. Bos.*, p. 435.

⁴ See Palfrey, ii. 62, for interesting types of the early houses.

⁵ "The sides of these buildings, and the ends above the line of the roof-plate, were of frame construction, made of heavy oak timber rudely squared, put together with tree-nails and boarded with oak, usually at an angle of 45°, thus making of every board a separate brace. The boarding was covered with coarse "stucco," as on the Bull house, or with split shingles, as on the Coddington house, put on with wrought nails. Many of the venerable mansions still remain bowed and bent with time, but still firm and sound." *Amer. Arch.*, lx. 72.

necticut villagers had houses¹ two-storied in front, with the roof sloping in the rear to the first story, or still nearer to the base; thus giving the structure a firm hold on the ground. A "lean-to"² was very common, and closets were around the chimney and dipped into the recesses of the attic; sometimes they were planned for hiding and concealment. This class of houses had four main rooms, the larger ones often twenty feet square, on one floor. On the ground was a parlor, or "great" room, for company; a bedroom; a kitchen, the main assembling place of the family; and a milk and cheese pantry. A house in Essex County, Mass., in 1656, 38x17 and 11 ft. stud, clapboarded, with three chimneys, was valued at £45 in corn and cattle.³ But the majority of the farmers and laborers, the common people, of this period, had plain rectangular houses of one story, with two rooms, a kitchen or living room, and a family bedroom, with one or more beds and a trundle-bed. There were rude sleeping places in the garret, under the thatched roofs,⁴ whither those beyond maternal care, and active enough, climbed by a ladder. The log huts, if driven from Boston, were certainly in the country and in the hamlets.⁵ We find also the convenient sunken pit, lined with boards and roofed over, which has been so much used by pioneers in new lands.⁶

The larger houses were often parcelled and devised in ^{Their way} parts to different members of the family during ^{of living.} the term of their lives. Thus John Greene,⁷ of Warwick, R. I., in 1658, gives to his beloved wife, "A

¹ Caulkins, *Norwich*, p. 76.

² See Yeaman's house, *Mem. Hist. Bos.*, i. 448.

³ *Essex Inst.*, ii. 39.

⁴ In Stephen Gates's inventory, 1662, thatching tools are valued at 3s. 6d. *Lancaster Rec.*, p. 57.

⁵ One of the first planters in New Haven had "two loads of clay brought home." This was probably for the "daubing" between the logs of his house. Atwater, *Hist.*, p. 80.

⁶ Newhall, *Lynn*, p. 114.

⁷ Fuller, *Warwick*, p. 31.

large hall, and chimni with A little chamber joining to the hall, as also a large chamber with a little chamber within yt, with a large garret, with a Little dary room which buttes against ye oule house, during her life; also half ye orchard." The hall varies according to the dignity of the establishment. In the Widow Francis Killburn's¹ house at Hartford, whose estate was £349 in 1650, the "parlour" held two beds with their furniture; the "hall" contained "tables, formes, chairs, stooles, benches," all valued at £1. John Haynes,² the accomplished governor of Connecticut, left an estate of ^{Governor Haynes'} furniture. £1,400,³ at the same place in 1653. The "hall" was furnished with five leather and four flag-bottomed chairs, one table and three joined stools ("high wine stools" appear in the furniture of Governor Eaton's hall), one tin hanging candlestick, seven cushions, one firelock musket, one matchlock do., one carbine, one rapier,—the arms valued at £3,—no bandoleers, which often occurred, one pair cobirons (andirons), one iron back, one gilded looking-glass, one smoothing iron, the whole valued at £8 13s. 10d. This is an interesting inventory. Several fireplaces have iron backs, and andirons with brass tops. The parlor has velvet chairs and stools, and Turkey wrought chairs with a green cloth carpet (£1 10s.). Carpets appear in most of the inventories here, and in Boston⁴ at same period they are found; but they are table covers. In the parlor chamber are curtains of say, curtain rods and "vallants." There are plenty of napkins, which served a good purpose in the lack of forks; there is some damask, and much Holland bed and table linen.⁵ Chests are frequent, as in all the inventories, and "lean-to"

¹ *Hartford County Ct. Probate R.*, p. 11.

² *Ibid., P. R.*, p. 11.

³ See an interesting inventory in Newhall's *Lynn*, p. 189. The estate was about £1,100 in 1640.

⁴ *Suffolk Probate R.*, ii. 28; iii. 23.

⁵ *Suffolk P. R.* in 1642, ii. 8, 9; and see *P. R.* in 1645, ii. 28.

or "linery cupboards." In Haynes's house "the men's chamber" is mentioned with one bedstead, two flock beds, one feather "boulster," one flock do., one blanket, one coverlet. The better rooms had feather beds. Flock beds were common in the colonies. I find no flocks in the merchants' stocks in Boston. In a full and varied list of English goods imported and sold by William Whiting¹ at Hartford, in 1650 and 1652, there is no mention of flocks; it seems doubtful that such quantities could have been made in New England.

In Haynes's cellar were brewing vessels and wooden ware; the kitchen had a full set of pewter dishes and no crockery; brass candlesticks and warming-pan, iron possnets, or porringers appear here and elsewhere.²

The kitchens of the period were the true home centres, *Home in the kitchen.* warm abodes of the old Lars, who held to the chimney and rallied the best New England life around the hearthstone. In the wide fireplace and over the massive backlog; crane, jack, spit, and pothook did substantial work, while the embers kept bake-kettle and frying-pan in hospitable exercise. The children sat on blocks in the chimney corners,³ and a high-backed settle defended the shoulders of the elders from the air currents which swept the neutral ground between the fire circle and outdoors. A tin candlestick with long back hung from the wall over the mantel. But they often saved the fat pitch-pine or candlewood⁴ in summer, storing it for the winter light. Beams and ceiling were hung with ears of corn, crooknecks, and flitches of meat. This comestible comfort was typical of the place; the world was hard without, but there was simple life-giving abundance within.

¹ *Conn. Arch., Vol. Legal.*

² Bailey, *Andover*, p. 25.

³ Caulkins, *Norwich*, p. 76.

⁴ Bliss, *Springfield*, p. 101; Springfield in 1650 (Judd, *Hadley*, p. 300) ordered that none should gather candlewood for tar within six miles of Connecticut River. They could gather it for family use.

In the New Haven¹ colony, John Davenport, who died in 1670, had the first clock. In all the array of Haynes's household there is no silver plate; some of the dwellers at Hartford had a little, but not much. Little appears in the miscellaneous inventories at Boston. A few silver spoons and but little other plate is to be found. Mrs. Martha Coytemore, who married Governor Winthrop at Boston in 164⁹, inherited a good estate; the inventory of Thomas Coytemore's real and personal effects² was divided equally with her son. Her share amounted to £620, and in this there was 54½ oz. of silver plate, worth £12 6s. 4d. Probably there was but little silver scattered in New England at this period. Governor Eaton's³ was inventoried at £147 11s. There were a few tin vessels and a little earthen ware, but the common material was pewter. Some wooden platters were used, and wooden trenchers,⁴ instead of our porcelain plates, were very common.

We may comprehend this people better if we take a whole estate and consider it at a glance. John Perkins, of Ipswich, had a small estate, but he was a typical man; he held town offices and places of trust, and was a responsible citizen. His inventory shows (see p. 218) the small values and limited amounts of property sufficing to conduct ordinary living in the middle of the seventeenth century.

The typical
household
economy.

Notwithstanding the immense influence of the minister, the peculiar connection of church and state relegated to the magistrate the office of marriage, considered by us an especial function of the parson. In this, according to Governor Bradford,⁵ they followed "ye laudable custome of ye Low Countries." Boston had no more punctilious citizen than John Hull,⁶ who says in 1647, "Mr. John

¹ Atwater, p. 355.

² *M. C. R.*, ii. 233.

³ Atwater, *New Haven*, p. 117.

⁴ Atwater, *New Haven*, p. 357.

⁵ *Hist. Plymouth*, p. 101.

⁶ *Diaries*, p. 143.

John Perkins's inventory, Ipswich, in 1654.¹

	£ . .
Dwellgh. barn, outhousing	40
8 ac land by h.	12
14 " " not broke up	21
6 " " marsh, 40s.	12
20 " " much broken upl & mars, 20s.	20
12 " " improved, 50s.	24
1 mare & mare foal	25
6 milch cows	30
4 yrlg. heyfers & steere	11 10
6 ewes, 35s.	10 10
5 " lambs	5 00
1 yrlg. weather, 2 weather lambs	2
1 young calf	00 15
1 cow at pasture, 1 sow & 3 pigs	8
1 feather bed with bed & fur	4
1 coverlid & small linen things	2 10
Money	10
Cart, plow, harrow, "several goods of lumber," as casks, tubs, cheares, axes, hoes, etc.	5 00
Several kets., pots, & kitchen dishes	2
His wearing apparel	5
	<hr/> <u>£250 05</u>

Winthrop married me and my wife Judith in my own
 Marriage house." The gentle bride did not seek the shelter of the altar, nor did her blushes keep her in
 customs. the paternal home, nor did a minister's tenderness help her through the ceremony, but the governor himself in all his majesty solemnised the wedding in the home of the bridegroom.

In 1654 the Dutch Director General and Council of New Amsterdam² annulled a marriage made by a farmer at Greenwich, Ct. Captain Marshall, landlord of the "Blue Anchor" in Lynn,³ was empowered to marry in 1659, and it is stated that the early ministers had no power to marry. The General Court⁴ authorised particular persons to perform the marriage service.

¹ *Essex Inst.*, xix. 222.

² *Doc. Col. N. Y.*, xiv. 291.

³ Newhall, p. 243.

⁴ *M. C. R.*, ii. 14.

The whole business of matrimony was conducted by an economic and practical method of procedure, the forms of which were well prescribed and understood. When people married in those days, they went to the business in regular and methodical fashion. Sentiment might and generally did stimulate the proceedings, but it must enter formally and move according to the will of parent or guardian. The pattern of love-making was as rigid as that of their ruffs and collars. There was a highly economic method in the whole matter of courtship and marriage.

Courtship
and mar-
riage ac-
cording to
the time.

Emanuel Downing, one of the most accomplished of the Puritans, writes in 1640 to his brother-in-law, Governor Winthrop, of his desires concerning his whole family. He wishes particularly to marry his son James to a niece of Mr. Endicott. He would "see the issue hereof and to match some of my elder children because some think me to blame that none of them are disposed of." He had been more enterprising for his niece, providing a "verie good match" in the person of old Moulton's son, a member of the church, with an estate of £400 or £500. Now "if my sonn's buisnes proceede I may about a moneth hence have both couples married on a day." Good dispatch and good economy; a single roasted joint would join two couples.

We come more intimately into the loves of Henry Grey and Lydia Frost, which halted, though they finally moved to fruition, and Henry, with Lydia's help, ultimately became a prominent man and deputy to the General Court in Fairfield, Conn. Lechford,¹ the lawyer, was a friend of the father, and wrote from Boston, in 1640, commanding Grey and his mission when he went to induce the reluctant papa to favor his suit. Grey went to satisfy his proposed father-at-law concerning his estate, "which yet the maid doth not stand on, but is fully satis-

¹ *Note Book*, pp. 74, 75.

fied thereabout and all other things, and her affections to him remain." Grey's father had promised an unknown sum toward a house; this has been lately increased by £20. Grey's brother, a citizen of London, has promised "to stock him with £100 worth of commodities from time to time, if the Lord keepe open the way, and he is to have half the profit." Grey could show that he was then worth £50, "which is as much as her sister here desired and more than the maid herself ever stood on."

This was not all. The lawyer closes his letter of friendly counsel with a request for a return of his "treatises" loaned his correspondent, and which he is "forced" to show to some elders. Before this, he reveals the rod in abeyance which should compel the father to relax opposition if all else failed. If his economic mind was not satisfied by Grey's direct suit, then social pressure was to be borne in upon him, and to force a reluctant consent. "The maid hath promised him and he her, as I heare, and the young man doubts whether it may be "broken off." In that event the swain will refer the matter "to yourself and 2 other ministers meete to be deciders, when you come [from Fairfield, Ct., probably] next into the Bay." Probably this dread ordeal was never undergone, for the couple were married a few months after.

The whole account is an interesting picture of the social customs prevailing. The solid old Connecticut "planter," prudent and thrifty; the London citizens, the father advancing capital, the brother helping, if his bold generosity will return him half profit; the coy maiden yielding precipitately after being satisfied in the sum she "stood on,"—all these contrasting characters group themselves naïvely around this altar, and this rising New England home. Behind and beyond all, the Puritan ecclesiastical machinery looms heavily and darkly in the background, ready to crush either parent or child should any inconsiderate impulse cross the hard, iron lines of its conventional administration of social matters.

The next institution to church or meeting in the affections of our people was the school. Dunster,¹ Early schools. the second president and first efficient administrator of Harvard College, was sending out men who could maintain the pulpit, and save from extinction the scholar's torch brought here by Higginson, Cheever, Corlet, and other worthy teachers. Boston had a school in 1635,² Newport a temporary one in 1640, New Haven and Hartford in 1642,³ Windsor, Ct., probably in 1644. At this time Dedham⁴ took the characteristic action which established the common school; granting lands and raising a fund in various ways before they were productive, to pay the master £20 per annum, until 1695, when it was raised to £25; its first schoolhouse was built in 1648. The movement was general, for Winthrop⁵ notices it in 1645, mentioning Roxbury. Massachusetts⁶ established schools by law in 1647, ordering each town of fifty householders to "appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read," his wages to be paid by parents or masters, or as the town shall adopt; towns of 100 householders to set up a grammar school where youth could be fitted for the university.

These statements hardly picture the sacrifice of the masters, or the difficulties which any public burden laid on the new communities. In 1648 Cambridge⁷ sold land to pay Mr. Corlett, for his pains in keeping school, £10. Probably he collected fees in addition from the scholars, as was the custom in many towns; in Guilford, Ct.,⁸ the children paid 4s. per quarter. In 1680 Corlett is Latin school master with nine pupils; in 1684 his salary was raised to £20. In Watertown,⁹ 1659, the salary was £30 per annum, and the master, Richard Norcross, was allowed

¹ Palfrey, ii. 46.

² Stiles, *Windsor*, p. 443.

³ Worthington, p. 36.

⁴ Winthrop, ii. 215; Savage, p. 264.

⁵ M. C. R., ii. 203.

⁶ Paige, p. 367.

⁷ Smith, p. 80.

⁸ Bond, ii. 1069.

2s. per head for keeping the dry herd ; he wet-nursed the brains of the children and dry-nursed the bodies of the cattle. The Watertown salary continued about the same for some seventy years ; in 1715 or 1720 it was raised to £36. The grammar or Latin schools were in operation soon after the act authorising them ; Essex gives land for one in 1651, with £14 per annum salary.

In 1657 the New Haven Court orders every plantation¹ not possessing a school to institute one, the town paying one third of the cost.

The distinctive character of the New England Puritan Regulation of morals. imprinted itself on the laws for the regulation of morals and social usages he attempted to enforce, especially in Massachusetts and Connecticut. It has been well said² of his English brother and ancestor that he was a literal scripturist. He studied the Bible for principles, but more for mandates ; failing to find these, his fertile imagination sought analogies in the wilderest interpretation not only of the Pauline but of the Mosaic record. His idea of liberty was in freedom to do as the better judgment of the brethren should prescribe — government was to him the absolute rendering of God's precepts by the mouth of elders and magistrates.

The New England scion of this stock started with high hope to make a new kingdom of the elect, a moral oasis in the dreary world abandoned to sin. What man ever comprehended his time better, or brought to government more efficient wisdom, than John Winthrop ? John the younger was one of the best-instructed men in the science and exact knowledge of his day ; Hooker, his associate in founding Connecticut, was unselfish, zealously pious, and wise. Yet we read their systems and working beliefs, — the artless attempts of these men to render God's judgments by scriptural analogies into the administration of human law — wondering that enlightened intellects could

¹ *Hist. Stamford*, p. 340,

² *Palfrey, N. E.*, i. 275.

have conceived such impossibilities. The men were not at fault. The social and religious atmosphere was charged with an unattainable ideal of vicarious virtue,—a conception of duty which exalted each bold scriptural theorist into a keeper of his brother's conscience,—a priestly administrator of another's soul.

Numerous traditions attest the actual operation of the blue laws of Connecticut. They do not differ in kind from others; Massachusetts had many statutes, often enforced with penalties, quite as severe in principle. But Connecticut, a singularly homogeneous society, kept the system longer, and probably made it more effective. The code,¹ whether written or unwritten, was certainly severe. No food or lodging could be given to a Quaker, Adamite, or other heretic. No one could run on the Sabbath day, or walk in his garden or elsewhere, except reverently to and from meeting. No one should travel, cook victuals, make beds, sweep house, cut hair, or shave, on the Sabbath day. No woman should kiss her child on the Sabbath or fasting day. Whoever brought cards into the dominion paid a fine of £5. No one could read Common Prayer, keep Christmas or saints' days; make minced pies, dance, play cards, or play on any instrument of music, except the drum, trumpet, and jews-harp. The magistrates only should join in marriage, as they might do it with less scandal to Christ's Church.

These are not eccentric notions, or the legislative caprices of one section. The old statutes teem with the same spirit, seeking by every means to control morals or to enforce a conventional decorum. Liquor-drinking was regulated, and the use of tobacco was tinkered constantly; the decrees would fill a volume. In 1632 and 1634 Massachusetts² made the strictest laws possible against it, and repealed them in 1647. They will not allow it in the

¹ *Hist. New Haven*, p. 46.

² *M. C. R.*, i. 101, 206.

room where the Court¹ sits, — a civilised regulation. Windsor, Ct.,² in 1647, pursues the seductive weed farther. None under 21 years, nor any one not previously accustomed to it, shall take tobacco without a physician's certificate. No one shall take it publicly in the street, or the fields, or the woods, except on a journey of at least ten miles, or at dinner. Nor shall any one take it in any house in his own town with more than one person taking it at the same time. In 1650 Massachusetts prohibits it, the merchants protesting; and the Connecticut Court³ forbids the taking it "publiquely in the street, highwayes, or any barne yards, or vpon traineing days in any open places." If this seems meddlesome, what shall we say of the authorities of Newbury, Mass.,⁴ who summoned Dr. William Snelling, because, being in way of merry discourse, a health being drank to all friends, he had answered: —

"I'll pledge my friends,
And for my foes,
A plague for their heels
And a poxe for their toes."

His companions testify that he only intended a proverb used in the West Country, and he solemnly confesses and records his humiliation that he "was so weak as to use so foolish a proverb." The law against drinking healths was repealed by the Massachusetts General Court⁵ in 1645. And about this time these magistrates troubled themselves greatly that the people would tell lies. It had prohibited gaming, and now it adds bowling⁶ to the shuffle-board and other prohibited amusements. These are not mere paper edicts. Inn-keepers were fined for

¹ *M. C. R.*, iii. 53.

² Stiles, p. 71.

³ *Conn. C. R.*, ii. 558; Johnson, *W. Work. Prov.*, p. 215.

⁴ Coffin, p. 55.

⁵ *M. C. R.*, iii. 30.

⁶ *M. C. R.*, iii. 201.

keeping a shuffle-board,¹ which wasted precious time. Plymouth prosecuted for mixed dancing,² and Massachusetts³ prohibited it in ordinaries at weddings. In 1650⁴ domestic manners were in some instances so unruly that the Massachusetts General Court forbade husbands to strike wives; nor should the gentle helpmate lift her tender hand against the brutal lord and would-be master of her person. This was humane legislation and reduced the same grade of people into better living than they practised in England at this time.

Massachusetts observed the Sabbath rigidly; the statute⁵ of 1653 forbade walking in the streets or fields on Sunday, or going upon shipboard, thus ^{Sabbath} keeping. spending precious time. Sabbath regulations appear to have been enforced strictly. Archibald Henderson, master of a vessel from Barbadoes touching at Boston, complains to the Council for Foreign Plantations in London⁶ that, ignorant of the laws, he had been walking half an hour after sunset Saturday, when a constable entered his lodging, seized him by the hair of the head, dragged him brutally to prison, etc., and claims £800 damages for the detention of his vessel during his prosecution by Attorney General Leverett, etc. The whole shows exaggeration; probably the free-roving captain was pursuing business after dark not becoming in Puritan eyes, and the officers resorted to the Sunday statutes to punish him.

It was common to use a statute to punish offences not indictable under it. John Gatchell was fined 10s. at Marblehead in 1637 for building on the town land. If he should "cut of y^e long har off hys head into a sevil frame," half the fine should be abated and the building granted.⁷

¹ Felt, *An Salem*, i. 363.

² *Plym. C. R.*, i. 174.

³ *M. C. R.*, iii. 224.

⁴ *M. C. R.*, iii. 212.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 316.

⁶ *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1661-1668, p. 17.

⁷ Roads, *Marblehead*, p. 12.

All these cares of the anxious fathers were as nought when we come to their labors and pains in regulating dress. The function of dress in their minds was not only to cover and protect people, but to classify and arrange them. The same conserving prejudice, which marked their treatment of laborers and apprentices, controlled their notions of dress. Social prestige, rank, estate, and breeding were to be formulated in the garments of the wearer. It was not only that the precious capital of the community was wasted by expensive dressing, but the well-ordered ranks of society were jostled and disturbed by the glitter of silver lace, the sheen of silken hoods, the tramp of long boots.

Rank in the prescriptions for dress.
They began early in the effort, to reform the evil tendencies in dress. In 1634¹ the Massachusetts General Court, along with their prohibition of tobacco, publicly or privately before strangers, forbids the purchase of "any appell, either wollen, silke, or lynnen, with any lace on it, silver golde, silke or threed." They shall not "make or buy slashed clothes, other than one slashe in each sleeve, and another in the backe;" there shall be no "cutt works, imbroidd or needle w capps, bands & rayles; no gold or silver girdles, hattbands, belts, ruffs, beavr hatts." The statute was not to be left to execute itself: "if any man shall judge the wearing of above new fashions, or long hair, or of the like nature, to be uncomely, or prej^{cl} to com good, & p'ty not reforming, next assist^s shall have power to bind," etc. In 1636² lace is forbidden, but the binding of a small edging on linen is allowed; and to curtail luxury,³ buyers of fruit, spice, sugar, wine, liquors, tobacco, must pay one sixth of their value into the public treasury. The next year they repeal the ordinance as to sugar, spice and fruit, leaving the remainder. The often-quoted censures of Ward's simple

¹ *M. C. R.*, i. 126.

Ibid., i. 186, 209.

² *M. C. R.*, i. 183.

cobbler of Agawam¹ show that the language of the censors was as intemperate as the fashions of the fops and coquettes.

The town records are full of prosecutions, acquittals, and convictions for offences against these laws. In Salem,² 1652, a man is presented for excess "in bootes, rebonds, gould, and silver lace;" and in Lynn,³ "Ester, wife of Joseph Jynkes Junior, ffer wearing silver lace;" in Newbury,⁴ 1653, two women, each for wearing a silk hood and scarfe, but they were discharged on proof that their husbands were worth two hundred pounds each.

Penalties
for inde-
pendence in
dress.

John Hutchins's wife was also discharged, "upon testimony of her being brought up above the ordinary ranke." The latter is an interesting instance showing that rank as well as property condoned these offences.

The New England men and women appeared in a sober costume, which constantly tended to break out and exceed the established mode⁵ by some quaint extravagance. It would seem that asceticism was so severe in its control that the natural love of dress asserted itself in many minor things which now would be extravagant for fops.

The doublet was common to both sexes. Gentlemen wore it over a sleeved waistcoat, something like our jacket. The sleeves were often slashed and embroidered extravagantly, as the fathers indicated in the restraining acts. Falling bands at the neck were very common, and sometimes they were embroidered. A deep linen collar sometimes served in place of the bands. Trunk hose were used, and long stockings, with shoes tied or ornamented with rosettes. A beaver or felt hat covered the head. Embroidered gloves were almost essential to handsome dress; they wore gauntlets, the wrist-flaps richly fig-

¹ Force, *Tracts*, iii. 23.

² Felt, *An.*, ii. 458.

³ Newhall, p. 233.

⁴ Coffin, p. 58.

⁵ See *M. C. R.*, i. 121 274.

ured or fringed. Swords were often suspended from elaborately embroidered shoulder-belts. Gold and silver lace often crept in.

Any one of less estate than two hundred pounds was held to strict account in dress. The women under this rank offended especially by wearing silk and tiffany hoods; they also wore broad-brimmed hats. Under the pointed stomacher and gown, the ladies wore a petticoat either of woollen stuff, or of rich silk or brocade, according to rank. The ruff had given place to a broad collar, plain or embroidered, falling over the shoulders.

Leather clothing was much worn, by laborers and servants especially.¹ The excellent brain-tanned deerskin, which the Indians taught the colonists to prepare, served well for garments. Hampshire kerseys, went for common wear. Monmouth caps and red knit caps are mentioned among the articles used by the lower classes. A mandilion or over-jacket was fastened with hooks and eyes. Their shoes had wooden heels. Irish stockings, frequently mentioned in the seventeenth century, have been compared to modern socks; but a remark of Wood's² would lead us to infer that they were made of cloth, as distinguished from those knit, which did not wear as well. Lechford gives the prices of a variety of worsted stockings.³

While rich apparel appears here and there, in spite of the limitations of statute law, it is evident that the great majority dressed plainly. Their frugality and abstinence made the foundation on which sumptuary statutes could be based. Henry Webb, a trader in Boston, left a good estate in 1660, much of which descended in an endowment to Harvard College. He was contemporary with Captain Robert Keayne, their shops being only two doors apart. But he wore no "silver laced coate and gold wrought cap," like the eccentric ancestor of our modern militia. His

¹ See 4 M. H. C., vi. 379. ² *New England's Prospect*, p. 160.

³ Lechford's *Note Book*, p. 152.

inventory¹ of solid property and stock, assorted for trade, shows scanty house-furnishing and wearing apparel. A round table at £3, 12 chairs £4 4s., a looking-glass 10s., 9 pairs of sheets 9s., a "tabby" petticoat £2 10s., 2 silk gowns £3, 1 serge gown £1 10s., a broadcloth gown £4 10s.—such scanty garments and furniture sufficed in a wealthy man's house.

In the inventories of women, house linen generally formed an important part. Mistress Anne Hibbins in 1656² had relatively more of the luxuries her sex cherishes in all periods. A gold wedding ring at 16s., a ring with a diamond at 8s., are rare vanities. A "taffaty" cloak at £2 10s., a black satin doublet at 10s., a green wrought cupboard-cloth with silk fringe at 15s., "5 painted Callico curtains and valiants" at £1 10s., show that Anne loved the things hated by the Puritans. In William Paine's³ stock in 1660 were "silk wares in two boxes" at £31 14s. These occasional luxuries stand out conspicuously. Usually the assorted merchandise of the traders is in solid wares and goods for the every-day use of every-day people. The women selected them carefully and conscientiously. In 1647 one writes: "She have 3 peeces of stuf, but I think ther is but one them yt you would like for yrself. It is a pretty sad stuf, but it have a thred of whit in it: it is 3 quarters broad and ye priz is 5s. 6d. ye yd."⁴

Out of sad stuff, indeed, they fashioned the whole fabric of their lives.

All sorts of pecadilloes busied the selectmen and country courts. Reading⁵ in 1649 fines three married women for scolding—the same occurs often—five shillings each; and Matthew Stanley suffers in £5, with 2s. 6d. fees, for winning the affections of John

Petty government in morals.

¹ *Suffolk P. R.*, iv. 51.

² *Ibid.*, iii. 73.

³ *Suffolk P. R.*, iii. 224.

⁴ *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 45.

⁵ *Eaton*, p. 8.

Tarbox's daughter without her parents' consent. This oversight of domestic life was well enforced. Connecticut¹ in 1636 would not allow any young unmarried man to keep house. Windsor² in 1652 allows Isaac Sheldon and Samuel Rockwell to keep house together, "so they carry themselves soberly and do not entertaine idle persons to the evil expense of time by day or night."

The husking often occasioned festivity and jolly merriment. In Long Island³ in 1661, where the customs were very like those of New England, one James Chichester found a red ear, and said that he must kiss "Bette" Scudder. That lively and turbulent damsels replied that she "would whip his brick;" these endearments ended in a scuffle, whereupon Goody Scudder interfered. The result was a summons before the "Town Court," an examination of witnesses, and a fine of 12s. with costs for James. Probably the sad youth, after this experience, brought his red ears to light in more gracious company.

They were not without better recreations. Books were not common in the old communities, but the colonists had some, and this generation read them ^{Their books.} well. Good parson Thomas Hooker,⁴ out of an estate of £1,336 15s., inventoried £300 in his library. John Winthrop, Jr., was a constant reader, especially in occult and mystical books. He writes from Pequot in 1648:⁵ "I am glad to heare of those booke coming forth. Paullin and Propugnaculi Fabri, and Helmont's Workes. . . . I desire also yt in high Duch, Glauberus, if you approve of it, and more I desire you earnestly to procure for me, that is Vigineer des Cyphres w^{ch} you know is to be had at Paris."

His library of 269 titles is preserved in the alcoves of the Society Library in New York. Some of the titles

¹ *Col. Rec.*, i. 8.

² Stiles, p. 54.

³ Thompson, i. 170.

⁴ Trumbull, *Hist. Conn.*, p. 293.

⁵ *M. H. C.*, viii. 41.

are interesting : there are a few Latin classics and no Greek ; in English there are many works on the occult philosophy and many on medicine,—Winthrop practised it extensively. We find Cornelius Agrippa, Aristotle, Aquinas, Erasmus. Grotius, in 12mo, on "True Religion;" Machiavelli, *Contra Tyrannos*, in 18mo, was hardly as useful in the new colony as Blundevill on Horses. An abridgment of Coke helped out Godwyn's "Civil and Ecclesiastical Rites of the Hebrew;" Jamblichus with *Lullie Raymundi*, alternate with Sir George Mackenzie on "Moral Gallantry." Two books by Melancthon ; none by Luther ; three by Paracelsus, one containing a note of Winthrop's ; a few on mathematics. Flammel on the "Philosopher's Stone," etc., is a type of many volumes. Pascal is represented by *Les Provinciales*, in 12mo. William West, 4to, London, 1598, on "Symboleography" was easier to seventeenth century readers than to us. Astrology is well represented cheek by jowl with anti-papal and theological treatises. Scudey, *Curia Politiae*. William Potter's "Key to Wealth," a folio tract of 1650, we shall hear of again.

CHAPTER VII.

THE WORKING OF THE NAVIGATION ACTS.

1662–1685.

THE Navigation Acts, maintained and more or less enforced by England from an early period, became a more important factor in colonial affairs on the accession of Charles II. The Act of 1651 was intended to secure English commerce to English shipping. The Act of 1660 renewed these provisions and added, “No merchandise shall be imported into the plantations but in English vessels navigated by Englishmen, under penalty of forfeiture.”

America sent among its exports certain articles that ^{Enumerated commodities.} England could hardly obtain elsewhere : sugars, tobacco, cotton-wool, indigo, ginger, fustic, dye-woods. These were classed as “enumerated commodities,” and were made a monopoly to be exported only to the countries ruled by the English crown. This list was extended from time to time ; naval stores were added afterward. Other commodities might be sent to foreign countries, but to protect the home trade as far as possible, these were limited to the points south of Cape Finisterre.

In 1663 another act (15 Chas. II.) confined all colonial imports to English bottoms, except salt for the fisheries, wines from Madeira and Azores, and provisions from Scotland and Ireland. All imports not excepted

^{The prevalent restrictive policy.} paid five per cent. on a valuation fixed by adding five per cent. to cost at place of export. Colonists would thus be compelled to send their best wares to England only, and to buy of England alone

every foreign article needed for their own consumption, wherever it might be produced.

This was a narrow policy, like all the policies of those times. For the statesmen of the seventeenth century, matters of trade weighed little when considered in relation to struggles for the mastery of continental Europe. Manufactures and exchanges of wares were the business of greasy knaves and stolid traders of the middle class. These toilers and merchants, the factors of England's future greatness, were seldom considered in court or parliament. The court vassals, the feudal representatives of land, the parliamentary expositors of the privileges and rights of classes as classes, made the policy of the kingdom. So all states managed affairs, until Colbert began to develop the immense forces latent in the industrial and productive capacities of society.

But the exclusive spirit did not aim at the colonies chiefly.¹ England had no colonial policy. Her colonies were accidents, politically considered. Their administration and regulation, political and economic, were controlled by the exigencies of English contests with continental powers. The desire to extract the most revenue and trade from these dependencies was a motive of the Navigation Acts. But the main motive was in the disposition to confine trade to the English citizen, to develop commerce, and thus to cripple the Dutch.

The Netherlands succeeded Spain in drawing profit from the riches of the New World. Her commerce and her marine far surpassed the English in the middle of the seventeenth century. The Navigation Acts struck squarely at the commerce and the navy of the Netherlands; in the end both were crippled. In this sense the Acts succeeded.² As colonial regula-

The Acts
cripple Hol-
land.

¹ *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1661-1668, p. 542.

² *Commerce de l'Amerique*, i. 76; and Seeley, *Expansion, England*, p. 126.

tions they were never fairly enforced, but they were dragged through a century of evasion and of weakening prerogative. Economically they had little effect; politically they ended in the destruction of the royal power in America.

Although "vent of English woolens and other commodities" is mentioned in the Act of 1663, the theory that the colonial markets might become great outlets for British products and manufactures was an idea beyond the reach of this period. There is little evidence that this conception influenced the action of Charles and his statesmen. When the king confirmed the privileges of the charter of Massachusetts, and granted an amnesty in 1662, though he complained of their abusing the Prayer Book, etc., and persecuting Quakers, he promised to promote their trade.¹ The English looked to the New World eagerly for gold and other precious articles, but not for a consuming market better than gold. Whatever there was they would keep; in the words of the preamble, "it being the usage of other nations to keep their plantⁿ trade to themselves." Daniel Defoe is one of the most intelligent of the early writers on economic matters. Even in his time the American colonies made a small part of the commercial outlook of Great Britain. More than fifty years after our period, he gives a full list of places² to which English woollens are exported in France, Holland, and almost every European country, but does not speak of the colonies. He mentions the power of the colonies to absorb and consume goods from the mother country, but as a mere incident to his main argument. Gold and silver³ from Guinea and America are much more important commercial factors in his eyes.

We are not to suppose that a large commerce did not

¹ *Hutchinson Papers*, p. 381.

² Defoe, *Complete Tradesman*, Oxford ed., xviii. 199.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

exist, but it was in those solid things which did not attract the notice of superficial writers. The musty records, little considered in Defoe's day, show in 1660 that merchants “trading for New England”¹ find themselves very much grieved in respect of the strictness of the Act of Navigation.”¹ They say that the clapboards, pipe - staves, and other timber, fish, and “such gruff commodities” can be disposed to better advantage in other countries than England. They ask for the privilege of reëxporting them under bond, the proceeds to be returned to London in other commodities and not in silver. This was in April; in February the Privy Council issued an order for bonding ships, under which the colonial vessels² seem to have acted henceforth. The General Court of Massachusetts in 1661 recognizes these orders, and requires bonds to be taken of shipmasters “from England or elsewhere of their making return of the produce of the goods here received from the ports they are bound hence unto.”³ Bonds are given accordingly.⁴ These “gruff” commodities then employed 200 sail in their transportation to England.⁵

In 1663 the Massachusetts General Court enacts⁶ that vessels carrying the “enumerated” commodities must give bond to land them in other English plantations, or in England or Ireland. Officers⁷ were appointed to enforce the order of the Privy Council, especially. And a committee was appointed⁸ in Boston to write a letter to the Council in London, setting forth that the commodities mentioned in the act “are for the general transported from hence immediately for England; and it is our real interest so to do, for the supplying this port and cold countries with clothing,” with much more

Colonial commerce was not understood

Bonds given by all vessels.

¹ *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1660-1668, p. 10. ² *Mass. Arch.*, lx. 87.

³ *Mass. Arch.*, lx. 123.

⁴ *Ibid.*, lx. 124.

⁵ *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1660-1668, p. 58.

⁶ *M. C. R.*, iv. part 2, 73.

⁷ *Mass. Arch.*, lx. 2.

⁸ *Mass. Arch.*, lx. 5.

to the same effect. If any vessel should carry Virginia or Maryland produce into "Manadoes or any other prohibited place," bonds should be required, etc.

Tobacco easily evaded duties. The Farmers of the Customs complained that the losses of the revenue on it, as it was carried from the Atlantic colonies to the Dutch plantations contiguous, were £10,000 per annum.¹

The conduct of the legislature was loyalty itself: how well did the executive carry out the will of the sovereign, as it was enjoined upon it by the crown's submissive servants in the General Court? Not to the royal satisfaction, certainly; for in 1665 the king sends emphatic instructions to his commissioners to enforce the act.
^{The bonds do not bind.} He knows that it is violated; "ill acts are practiced by some in authority there."² The Court answers, claiming that they have been misrepresented to his Majesty, rejoining faintly, "being not consc^t to our^s that wee have greatly violated,"³ that their contrary laws have been repealed. Mark the qualifying word, "greatly."

In this year the Privy Council⁴ had discussed in London the suspension of the Acts during the war pending. They had been asked to do this by merchants trading into France, Holland, Flanders, etc. The committee recommends dispensation for Germany, the Baltic, etc., but not for any of the "plantation trades." They fear that the French and others will obtain an advantage by this privilege, which would give them "too much inspection into the English trade." We see from this debate that, while the Acts, evaded as they were in the colonies, did not hinder colonial commerce, they served to keep the trade from the Dutch, French, and other competing nations. The committee⁵ of the House of Lords on "Decay of Trade" in 1668, although they differed on many eco-

¹ *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1660-1668, p. 172. ² *M. C. R.*, iv. part 2, 193.

³ *M. C. R.*, iv. part 2, 202. ⁴ *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1660, p. 282.

⁵ *Rep. Brit. Hist. Ms.* 1881, *H. Lords Cal.*, pp. 133, 134.

nomic problems, agreed that the Act of Navigation had improved trade. In 1673 it was said,¹ "The trade of New England is very great to all parts. It hath become a magazine of all commodities. Ships daily arrive there from Holland, France, Spain, &c." It is probable that the most of these vessels were colonial or English, — chiefly the former, for the English merchants in 1675 remonstrated against the freedom of the colonial trade. The Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations proposed to send five commissioners to Massachusetts to look after these infringements. In 1676² a messenger came to enforce the Acts.

In this carrying of goods under bond from place to place there was an inevitable multiplication of duties ^{They multiply taxes.} or customs. This was such manifest injustice that no mere loyalty to the crown or the home government could actually enforce the oppressive statutes. Petitions went to London from Massachusetts³ asking that they might be relieved from double taxes. The colonists claimed that they were "willing to pay all his Majesty's duties" when the foreign goods should arrive in Boston. John Hull, the treasurer, makes this very clear in 1677 in a letter⁴ to Stoughton & Bulkley at London, agents for the colony. They sent their fish to Bilboa (a port in North Spain communicating with Portugal), trading it for a second cargo; this was carried beyond Gibraltar, exchanging in the Mediterranean for "fruits, oil, soap, wine, and salt." Salt was the chief commodity, a great necessity, and free under the Acts. Because they had a few dutiable goods the vessel must go to London — dragging its load of salt — to pay customs on a fraction of the cargo, "which is as the cutting off our hands and feet as to our trade."

Hull brings the extremes of the argument into one voy-

¹ Chalmers, *Pol. An.*, p. 433. ² Chalmers, *Revolt Am. Cols.*, i. 129.

³ Chalmers, *Pol. An.*, pp. 404, 436. ⁴ J. Hull, *Diarie*s, p. 129.

age. They sent provisions to the West Indies, exchanging for cotton, wool, and sugar, paying duties on these latter. "The bulk of them are sent to England, again from hence, and pay customs then a second time."

There could be but one issue to this ignorant legislation, administered across wide seas, among a people with "the fancy of a commonwealth yet in their brains."¹ This issue was a sullen defiance against "the cutting off the hands and feet" of their trade, while professing loyalty to the crown. Randolph, in 1679, went to Boston, "Impowered to prevent their Irregular Trade. I seized several of their Vessels with their Loading. His Majesties Authority and the Acts of Trade disowned openly in their Courts, and I was cast in all those Causes and damages given against his Majesty."²

In 1681, the bark *Gift of God*, owned by Robert Elliot,³ was seized in the harbor of Piscataqua by Barefoot, a deputy of Randolph. The President and Council of the Province sympathised with Elliot.

These open violations of the law of the realm could not continue in this flagrant manner. The General Court of Massachusetts had answered in 1679⁴ that the Acts were fully executed. But in 1682, "having considered the statutes of England, his Majesty's commands and our own laws," it published an order⁵ prohibiting these offences in every detail. This was not mere paper legislation; there was at least a show of observance, and there were prosecutions soon following the order. Nathaniel Clark and Daniel Davidson owned the ketch *Newberry*,⁶ which was seized for bringing 40 pipes of wine directly from the

¹ In 1665. *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1661-1668, p. 277.

² *Randolph Pap.*; Prince, *Andros Tract*, iii. 5; and see Belknap, *N. H.*, i. 180.

³ *Prov. Pap. N. H.*, i. 357.

⁴ Andros reported in 1678 differently of the Acts,—"generally believed not to be observed as they ought." *Doc. N. Y.*, iii. 263.

⁵ *Mass. Arch.*, lxi. 234.

⁶ *Ibid.*, evi. 259.

Canaries. "Mr. Samuell Noell, magistrate of Boston, and Mr. Andrew Belcher of Cambridge, owners of the pink Good Hope, seized at Boston for belonging to aliens, having a Scotchman to be her master, and for taking in her loading of tobacco before bond given as required in the 12th of the king."¹

These and other offenders² were men of high standing. But in 1686 the instructions to Randolph from home, in the matter of the pink Success, charge that "some of our officers wee have suspected to be guilty of giving out Counterfeit locquetts and other Dispatches to the Prejudice of his ma^t Duties."³

A Boston vessel would not land her tobacco at Weymouth, England, according to law, but goes to Jersey, seeking more complaisant officials.⁴

English citizens and servants of the crown, as well as colonists, it seems, combined to evade the obnoxious laws. The whole system was honeycombed with corruption. A Dutch vessel⁵ loading with masts at Piscataqua in 1677 was seized and stripped of her sails because the master had "broake his word with the Governor in not clearing the said ship to belong to the English." Mark the place of the governor in this transaction. Massachusetts could pass laws, but a vessel seized by the collector of the port of Piscataqua in 1684 was retaken by a number of citizens in the night and carried out of the harbor.⁶ It was the custom to carry prohibited goods into those remote ports "under pretence of loading timber,"⁷ and to convey them to Boston afterward. Rhode Island and Connecticut offended as well.⁸ Massachusetts made a special order concerning wines in 1684.⁹ As Mr.

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, evi. 259.

² *Ibid.*, lxi. 266.

³ *Randolph Pap.*; Prince, *Andros Tract*, iii. 15.

⁴ *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1661-1668, p. 382.

⁵ *Mass. Arch.*, lxi. 161.

⁶ Adams, *Portsmouth*, p. 78.

⁷ *Prov. Pap. New H.*, i. 464.

⁸ *R. I. C. R.*, iii. 175.

⁹ *Mass. Arch.*, lxi., 265.

Lewin¹ reported at New York, there were so many "Islands and by places," where goods could be run through, that official control was difficult, even when exercised willingly. Duties collected at that port were on tobacco, 2s. per hhd. outward; on wine, 10s. per pipe inward; on brandy and other spirits, 15s. per hhd. inward. Only one ship, *The Margaret*, was ever seized for not paying the percentage ordained by the Navigation Acts on shipments from European ports other than England. She was seized by an officer of Andros, and discharged afterward.

— The illicit trade under the Navigation Acts was supplemented by another and more wanton violation ^{Dutch war.} of the laws of the realm in 1672 and 1673. England was at war with Holland, and all intercourse with the Dutch at New York was forbidden. The enemy preyed on the coastwise trade. The Providence was taken near Block Island, from Virginia, freighted by Wharton & Co., of Boston, with others. In her cargo were sixty-six tubs of tobacco and eight hides.² Massachusetts fitted out two vessels to check the depredations of the enemy in Long Island Sound.³ A fleet of seventeen Dutch craft was off the coast of Virginia seizing vessels.⁴ Hull⁵ says many vessels were lost in the ocean commerce and a "considerable estate." The lingering fondness of the colonists for their fellow Protestants in Holland, sometimes inducing the hope or the fear that New England might join itself to that country, did not affect the Dutch cruisers. Hull says mournfully, "They make no difference between New England and Old." England retaliated with letters of marque. A certain Captain Joseph Dudson,⁶ commissioned from the Leeward Islands, was a famous rover. One of his captured cargoes — probably from New York — reflects the commerce of the time: 90

¹ *Doc. N. Y.*, iii. 305.

² *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, ii. 662.

³ *Mass. Arch.*, lxi. 46.

⁴ *Mass. Arch.*, lxi. 6-8.

⁵ *Diaries*, p. 237.

⁶ *Mass. Arch.*, lxii. 12 and lxi. 48.

barrels of oil, 93 hhds. of tobacco, 473 pieces of logwood, 150 hides.

Through all this shock of war upon the seas, traders found means to evade the proclamation and maintain a secret intercourse with the enemy. Certain New England men “*did carry on this illegal trade.*”¹ Committees were appointed to investigate. A notorious offender was one Captain Stone; an expedition was dispatched to pursue him and other smugglers.² Stone’s practice was to sail under the pretence of going to some distant English colony, and then run his cargo into the New Netherlands.

There was an illicit trade carried on between the New England ports and Acadia likewise. Randolph³ reports it to the Council of Trade in 1680. The Boston men fished for cod, contrary to the treaty with France, and traded for beaver and peltry. In 1682 Frontenac, from Canada, and De l’Valier, governor of Acadia, both complain⁴ of the same irregularities, and the bringing away of coals also. The General Court of Massachusetts disavows the acts of the traders, but the French and the Indians continue to receive supplies by the same channels.

Trade with the West Indies, that first nursery of New England commerce, continued to absorb much of our merchants’ energies. They imported thence sugar, logwood, “Brazalettowood,” and silver chiefly. Once Hull calls for “silver plate, or Gold Ambergroose, or Turtel Shell.”⁵ The culture of the sugar-cane, now well established in these islands, even drew capital from our poor colonists to engage in it. John Pynchon⁶ borrowed £97 of New England money in Hadley, for three years, for use in the “sugar work” at Antigua. Our col-

Illicit
trade with
Acadia.

Trade with
West Indies.

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, lxi. 27, 32.

² *Ibid.*, lxi. 28.

³ *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, iii. 241.

⁴ *M. C. R.*, v. 373.

⁵ J. Hull, *Let. Book*, Am. Ant. Soc., Apr. 6, 1680.

⁶ Judd, *Hadley*, p. 204.

onies competed with Ireland in supplying the West Indies with beef.¹

False-packed cotton troubled merchants in early times. In 1672 John Hull gets two bags of "vine cotton woole" from the West Indies. He trades them into the country for provisions. The customer finds "much fowle cotton" in the middle of one bag, and Hull is obliged to make reclamation of his correspondent.²

Connecticut³ appears often in the small ventures running into these warm seas. The voyage from Nantasket to Jamaica usually took one month.⁴ The communication was so regular that in 1685 the news of a new governor for Massachusetts, appointed in England, came to Boston by the way of Nevis.⁵ The French in Canada⁶ tried to compete in this rich commerce, but feebly. They sent in one year three vessels loaded with wheat.

An interesting fact mentioned by Coddington in his ^{The port of} "Demonstration of True Love,"⁷ shows the frequent intercourse with Barbadoes, and also that Rhode Island was engaged in it with her own vessels. He had ordered £10 worth of books in England, which were "sent in shipping belonging to this Island from Barbadoes." They were carried by mistake into Piscataqua, and seized by the officials, which was the occasion of his complaint and of his record. This was between 1667 and 1672.

Buccaneering and privateering greatly prevailed. In 1666 the Jamaica legalised rovers took several islands from the Dutch, with much booty. Colonel Nicolls,⁸ at New York, advised the home government to complete the work by driving the Dutch from their stronghold at

¹ 5 Mass. H. C., viii. 444.

² J. Hull, *Let. Book*, Am. Ant. Soc.

³ Col. R., ii. 379.

⁴ 4 Mass. H. C., vii. 151.

⁵ 4 Mass. H. C., vi. 69.

⁶ Parkman, *Old Régime*, p. 292.

⁷ In Carter-Brown Library, p. 7.

⁸ Doc. Col. N. Y., iii. 115.

Curacao. The Guinea negroes were carried there and sold to the "Genovese," who were factors for the Spanish merchants. Then, in his opinion, the Dutch trade in Guinea would languish, and the Spaniards would "court the Royal African Co. with pieces of eight."

No colonial product excited so much attention in England as masts, especially the larger ones destined for the royal navy. Gold still dazzled the imagination, but the hardy English were beginning to see that the gold of Spain could be overcome by the wooden walls of a race of sailors and adventurers. That enormous, almost illimitable fleet, whitening every sea and penetrating every shore, though not yet, was to be, in English story. The work was begun. Though the court was licentious, and its king was foolish in many small things, he contrived to forward the prosperity of his subjects. The enterprising and the skilful found an outlet for their zeal, and laid the foundations of that commercial fleet which finally conquered the Dutch, outstripped the French, and in the next century put England at the head of the world.

Masts for
the royal
navy.

Some idea of the value of these sticks may be had when we read that Sir William Warren¹ tenders to the Navy Commissioners, in 1644, New England masts thirty-three to thirty-five inches in diameter, at £95 to £115 per mast. Some large specimens presented to the king, cost Massachusetts, delivered in London, with all charges, £1,600.² They were the "best in the world." Sir Josiah Child contracts to furnish them, and his ship, bound to "Piscataqua" on that especial service, has the customary privilege of wearing the King's Jack.³ In the unsettled times of 1655, no vessels were allowed to sail from Barbadoes except in fleets, for mutual protection. Therefore

¹ *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1661-1668, p. 262.

² *M. C. R.*, iv. part 2, 318, 368.

³ *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1661-1668, p. 362.

a special convoy is asked for several great ships to New England to bring masts for the king's service.¹ In 1666 Pepys speaks of a present, after the fire, of a ship-load to his Majesty, as "an unexpected blessing," and five ships loaded with them came in one fleet.² New Hampshire was then the great cutting ground for timber.

Cartwright and the other commissioners³ found seven or eight ships in 1665 in the large and safe harbor of "Piscataqua," and "great store of masts." Their complaints that many trees suitable for masts were cut for other purposes caused the General Court of Massachusetts to forbid⁴ such action. The broad arrow of the king was marked on all white pines twenty-four inches in diameter three feet from the ground.⁵

The mast ships were the couriers of the seas,—the surest and quickest means of communication with England. John Hull⁶ proposes a shipment of logwood by The King Solomon from Piscataqua, December 6, 1672. He sends a letter to his English correspondent by a friend, who is to take The Solomon's bill of lading, enclose therein, then seal and despatch the missive by the mast vessel. In the letter to his "Coz. Allin" he recites his shipments by sundry vessels.

We must remember and repeat that parliament or king, navigation acts or open trade, affected New England chiefly through the greedy-mouthing stockfish, the cod of Nova Scotia and the Northern coasts. Vessels came and went, cargoes were smuggled in and out of various ports under the fluctuating regulations of the mother country. All this movement had its most effective cause in the abundant fish of the cold seas, in the zealous industry of New England fishermen, in the

Codfish the
main motor
in trade.

¹ *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1661-1668, p. 328.

² *Ibid.*, p. 428.

⁴ *Mass. Arch.*, lx. 51.

⁶ *Letter Book*, Am. Ant. Soc.

³ *Doc. Col. N. Y.*, iii. 101.

⁵ *Belknap, N. H.*, i. 26.

hungry appetites of Catholic countries waiting for the food allowed on fast days by a dull, hard, persistent religious routine.

Williamson,¹ Lord Arlington's secretary, notes, in 1664, "from Major Scott's mouth,"— and Scott had ample opportunity for observation,— that Boston had 14,300 souls, with a great trade to Barbadoes in fish and other provisions; 300 vessels traded to the West Indies, Virginia, Madeira, "Acadia," etc.; 1,300 "boats"— these included ketches, etc.— fished in the waters about Cape Sable. The merchantable and best fish were sent to Malaga and the Canaries, the second quality to the Portugal Islands, and the worst to Barbadoes, where they fed the poor Guinea negroes whom the Royal African Company was pouring into the Spanish sugar islands. The same authority states that this industry was nourished in turn by great quantities of "peas, pork, &c." from the sea-coast along Plymouth and the Connecticut shore. In the "Elbow"— Cape Cod— was a great mackerel fishery, while the towns of Salem, Ipswich, and Charlestown were centres for both cod and mackerel industries. There were great fisheries at the Isles of Shoals, worked by more than 1,500 fishermen.

It was recognised at home that the English fisheries to Newfoundland were the greatest if not the only ^{Nursery of} ~~seamen~~ nursery for English seamen. When that trade flourished, it bred 10,000 seamen in a single year.² The colonial fisheries were performing a like office, and were training a maritime people destined to acquire wealth, and to make a navy which in due season might compete with the royal power upon the seas.

This early fishing system, like all the industries of the time, stimulated in the highest degree the personal powers of the participants. Great changes have been

¹ *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1661-1668, p. 532.

² *Ibid.*, p. xxxviii.

wrought gradually in the position of the individual fisherman, the laborer, and in capital, his environment, the tools and appliances of his work. At this period the capitalists, fitting out the expedition with boat, provisions, seines, etc., took one half the value¹ of the catch, and the other part went to the crew. In the eighteenth century the capitalist's moiety was reduced to one fifth,—a proportion which gave great opportunity to the individual fisherman, and which lasted until near our own time. Steam craft and new inventions in seining have now changed the system altogether.

Stability in a crew for the voyage was essential. They could not trust even to the cupidity of sharers in the undertaking, without further and stringent compulsion to keep the men in place. A law bound those shipping for winter and spring "to attend." And those engaged for the whole summer "shall not presume to break off before the last of October without the consent of the Owner, Master and Shoremen."²

It would appear from this that the "Shoremen"—*i. e.* those managing the flakes, etc., at the curing stations—were an important link in the organism.

The Massachusetts General Court was often busied with discussions and regulations to foster this vital industry. In 1670³ the supply had been affected sufficiently to rouse them to perceive the ruinous folly of pursuing the finny mothers in the spawning season. An act of the Massachusetts General Court forbids the taking of cod in December and January, and of mackerel in the months before July. It was renewed by Plymouth in 1682.⁴

Salt, an imperative necessity, was scarce, dear, and the
 Salt. lack limited enterprise. The *ignis fatuus* of manufacturing it from sea-water again pursued

¹ Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 182.

² *Mass. Arch.*, lx. 184.

³ *Mass. Arch.*, lx. 59.

⁴ Baylies, *Plym.*, ii. 32.

and continued to pursue the fancy of New England speculators. A new scheme granting lands, etc., for this purpose was chartered in 1670.¹ The quality of the fish was supervised carefully. The Tortugas salt spotted portions of the cured product. Packers were enjoined to cull out the imperfect, and Tortugas salt was declared unmerchantable.²

The Old Colony³ farmed its fisheries of bass and mackerel on the Cape coast, and gave the proceeds to the support of the public schools. In 1684-93 the rental was £30 per annum.

Sturgeon is a fish rather coarse for a modern palate, but it was more esteemed in this period. It was cured, packed, and exported. Especial inventions in the curing are noticed, for which monopolies were asked but refused.⁴ Ten shillings was the price of a keg in 1656 ; 10s. to 12s. is named in 1674, and 15 kegs exchanged for a small cask of rum and a cask of molasses.

The business of the fisheries enters into all the doings of the time. Whenever we turn over the stray papers of a seventeenth century merchant, we find evidences great and small of his constant intercourse with fish and fishermen. The Curwius or Corwins of Salem and Boston were important operators, venturing at home and abroad. Their affairs descend into the detail of two fishing-nets delivered on the order of Captain George Corwin "this 14^d: April: 1676 upon the accompt of Mr. Humphry Davie. I say Received by mee, John Tomlin."⁵

The typical merchant of the time was John Hull,

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, lix. 117.

² *M. C. R.*, iv. 2, 450; *Mass. Arch.*, lx. 139.

³ Deane, *Scituate*, p. 25; Baylies, *Plym.*, ii. 32.

⁴ *Mass. Arch.*, lxi. 3; Smith, *Newburyport*, p. 26; Chase, *Haverhill*, p. 118.

⁵ *Curwin Papers*, Am. Ant. Soc.

Treasurer of Massachusetts. In his youth he had been trained among the English goldsmiths, and their craft carried on the simple banking of the day.

John Hull
the first
merchant. The founders, Winthrop, Endicott, and others, — though promoting enterprise, — gave their minds and bent their energies to the state, the greatest enterprise of all, each neglecting the opportunity which might have been his own. They were the state's men literally. Hull¹ says of Endicott that he "died poor, as most of our rulers do, having more attended the public than their own private interests."

Hull's virtue was of another kind ; he was a good but not a great citizen. He rendered fairly to the public, and in return he took his own.² When increasing business and the inflowing West Indian silver required a mint, he could furnish the necessary capital and skill. Under his contract with the colony, he took a good seigniorage and made himself rich through his pains. His command of money gave him command of trade. He sends fish to Bilboa and Barbadoes, logwood to London and Bristol, bringing back salt, iron, and other heavy articles, especially from the Spanish ports. But the return he liked best was in dry goods from England, — serges,³ "sad" colored, none above 42s. nor under 30s.; "dowlass & good nowell canvass (for sails), Dutch duffalls, red penystones & flanills, no such scalet cloth as you sent me :" calicoes are more uncertain. Again he calls for "duffall," white, striped, or blue, with stockings red or blue, none above 16s. or under if possible; "noe kersy"⁴ above 46d. per yard nor under 2s. ; black stuffs, cheap, either of "hair or wosted."

He is advised to send a cargo of pipe-staves, hoops, and

¹ *Diaries*, p. 215.

² *M. C. R.*, iv. 1, 434.

³ *Letter Book*, 1672, Am. Ant. Soc.

⁴ Good kersey is inventoried in Leadlock's will in Saco, 1662, at 10s. per yard. Folsom, *Saco and B.*, p. 123.

fish to the Canaries, but he declines the venture. And he would "more & more affect & imbrace opportunitv of getting out rather then running into the buisnesses of this world Speacially forraigne traffique as desirous to be more thoughtfull of Lanching into that vast ocian of Eternity whether we must all shortly bee Carried yt soe I might bee in a prepared posture for my Lord's Comeing Loving Coz."¹ A spiritual camera could not render a more complete picture of his mind, as it works back and forth through pine-tree shillings and selected codfish three feet long; pure wisdom and thrifty silver; the dross of earth mingling with the gold of heaven. The temporal and the eternal touch and vibrate, and always to the advantage of a God-fearing, just man. He was very sensitive to the slightest aspersion upon his credit or reputation.² He had had a long correspondence with an uncle in England; with the nephew and heir he does not succeed so well. Under the nephew's instructions, he had shipped goods too quick, incurring a high freight. Freight was much affected by risk of capture, need of convoy,³ and by rumors of war or peace; to seize the right opportunity was then the part of good sagacity.⁴ Hull thinks he could have acted better without instructions, though he always obeys, "rather as to myselfe bee founde in a strict observance of order though as to you it ware better iff you ^{Gushing} left mee at liberty at least sometimes but indeed ^{pietism.} it is hard to forsee what will bee & therfore it is best willing to submit to the great governing hand of ye greate Governer of all the greater and lesser revolutions yt wee ye poore sons of men are involved in by ye invoyce you see ye whole amounteth to £405:16:3."

There is no full stop either in thought or expression;

¹ *Letter Book*, Am. Ant. Soc.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Mass. Arch.*, x. 85.

⁴ Hull offers, Oct. 21, 1676, £6 per ton on tobacco from Maryland to England. Refused; is asked £8.

the evolution of a high Providence runs into the £ s. d. of the invoice. These are not mere ejaculations ; they are parts of a ritual, the mind always being carried into the operations of trade, and they are characteristic of the time. Piety seeks to bring the high powers into sympathy with the purposes of the devotee and trader. A laggard debtor gets this exhortation : “ I am afraid least by keepeing a drinkeing House you learn to tipple yo^r selfe and thereby stifle y^e voice of yo^r Conscience that else would call upon you to bee Righteouse me thinks some fruite might have come to mee last winter doe not I pray Nedglect mee this springe.” His captains are always carefully enjoined “ to see to the worship of God every day in the vessel & to the santification of the Lord’s day & suppression of all prophainess that the Lord may delight to be with you & his blessing upon you which is the hearty prayer of youre frend & ownr.” A similar injunction appears in his letters of instruction almost with the regularity of a formula. The sailors and traders were not all in this mood, but Hull was of the prevailing party.

He often gives the masters power to sell the vessel, showing great confidence in them. To Jn^o Alden, master of the Friendship : “ I leave it to you from first to last in everything to doe with vessel and cargo what ever may Conduce in your best judgment for my reale benefitt & advantage. Leave noe debts behind you whereever you goe.”

The voyage was to Virginia, and projected thence to Ireland¹ with the tobacco. If in Ireland, the tobacco was to be sold for exchange on England, to be invested there in dress goods with lead and shot.

The ventures² were small and generally in ketches, in

¹ J. H., *Letter Book*, Sept. 18, 1671.

² The following account indicates what were the larger transactions between the Old and New Worlds : —

John Hull to Dan^l Allen in England [*Letter Book*, May 20, 1680] :

each of which he would hold about one fourth.¹ In 1672 he sends the ketch Dove, Thos Downes, master, to Richard Benson, of Bristol, Eng. "Although ^{Character of voyages.} yoe Selfe to mee unknown yet have made bolde to Consigne a little goods unto you, viz. 4 hh of Nevis Sage 6 hh of Leafe tobacco one Truss of bever & 4 tun & halfe of Loggwood." The return cargo is to be in dry goods, lead and shot, as in the Dove the previous year. In one instance the clear earnings of a vessel in a voyage home from England "may be neer £100." One eighth of "a ship taken by the Algerines stood on his ledger £113.17.10, though it might be worth more, £82.2.2."²

He was largely interested in the "Pettiquamscut" — now Boston Neck and Point Judith, R. I. — purchases of lands; bred horses on his domains there; and operated jointly with parties in the neighborhood, especially with Benedict Arnold, of Conanicut, or Newport. Arnold and a Mr. Bronson had offered him a "head" — from a shore whale probably — toward payment of account. But he dares not accept it on insufficient knowledge; could not ship it now, September 21, 1672, by reason of the high

I have now received a letter from M ^r samuel Wilson of New york and he first Complaineth that his Creditors had his ship which cost him	£2,700.0.0
and likewise her frait home which he saith was	430.0.0
and in bills	400.0.0

	£3,530.0.0
he saith the Credito ^r s accounted the shipp but as one Thousand pound	1,000.0.0
And that he had a letter two years since that the shipps net ernalgs clear of all Charges to that time was Three Thousand eight hundred pound	3,800.0.0
and since that note ernalg more	1,000.0.0

	£5,800.0.0

so that he thinkes that would pay every Creditor with interest for he saith his whole debt was Three Thousand pounds.

¹ Hull's *Diaries*, p. 155.

² *Ibid.*, p. 163.

freights, and it will "not take hurt by lying Abroad" until spring.

The colony was largely indebted to him at times for arrears of taxes in the different towns,¹ for which he had advanced in the seasons of public necessity. Some of these claims were compromised by his estate. A good man, solid, square, narrow, and strong ; if he lacked the greatness of Winthrop, he foreshadowed the lesser parts of Franklin.

Shipbuilding extended gradually into many of the inferior towns,² where abundance of timber and cheap living enabled the builders to construct at a low cost. Contracts for vessels were seldom all payable in cash. Produce, English goods, and sugar were included in the current barter. In 1661 a Gloucester builder makes a part of the sale payable in Barbadoes.

The New London yards doubtless were types of other localities, especially in their operations for the West Indian trade. In 1660-64 Mould & Coit³ built the Speedwell, Hopewell, and Endeavor,— called barques, equivalent to ketches, probably,—of from 12 to 20 tons burden, and valued at £50 to £82 each. The Endeavor, after several voyages to the West Indies, was sold in Barbadoes for 2,000 lbs. of sugar.

Rhode Island had built at Portsmouth before 1646. The Wantons established yards at Tiverton, it is said, in 1688.⁴

On the Pawcatuck River, where Connecticut joins Rhode Island at Westerly, Joseph Wells was noted in his profession. He was probably the "Wells of Ipswich shipwright" who moved to this coast about 1677. In

¹ Hull's *Diarie*s, p. 264.

² Paige, *Cambridge*, p. 96 ; Belknap, *N. H.*, i. 187, 297 ; Lincoln, *Hingham*, p. 8 ; *Essex Inst.*, i. 82 ; Babson, *Gloucester*, p. 251 ; Felt, *Ipswich*, p. 99 ; *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 239 ; *Bos. T. Rec.*, p. 33.

³ Caulkins, *N. Lon.*, p. 231.

⁴ *R. I. Hist. Tracts*, iii. 12.

1681 he built The Alex and Martha for New London owners. He received one eighth of the vessel and £165, of which £16 was silver,—the remainder in merchantable goods. The spikes and all iron-work were furnished by the owners.¹

The New London "Tryall" was built by J. Elderkin for William Brenton of Newport and Daniel Lane of New London, valued at £200. She was owned afterward in New London exclusively. The John and Hester² was the largest vessel built by Mould, and dates from 1678; 90 to 100 tons; one half was sold for £222.10. The Success was a ketch of 54 tons,³ and the crew consisted of a captain, mate, "Bos'n," and one sailor; the one "fore-the-mast" man was well officered.

Connecticut made good headway in this business, though with customary prudence she would not grant colonial aid. John Richards,⁴ and others interested in exporting masts for the royal navy, asked for a loan for seven years without interest to build a vessel. The probable plea was that the service was to be semi-public, but the colony refused it.

At or near Salem,⁵ in 1661, a "ship" 68 feet long, 23 broad, was built at £3 5s. per ton in money of New England, sugar, "ocum" (one half black and one half white), spikes, rope, etc. This price was lower than those quoted at New London, and seems exceptional. Randolph,⁶ in 1676, quotes good ships at "four pounds the ton."

He names Boston, Charlestown, Salem, Ipswich, Salisbury, and Portsmouth as the chief places for building in Massachusetts, with 30 master builders, carpenters, and other artificers and workmen in proportion. "There are built in and belong"⁷ to that colony,⁸—

Randolph's
account of
vessels.

¹ Caulkins, *N. Lon.*, p. 237.

² *Ibid.*, p. 235.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

⁴ *Conn. Arch., Trade and Mar. Aff.*, i. 110.

⁵ *Essex Inst.*, xiii. 135. ⁶ *Hutchinson Papers*, ii. 232. ⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Andros, in 1678, said there were "very many and good ships,

	30 vessels from 100 to 250 tons,
200	" " 50 " 100 "
200	" " 30 " 50 "
300	" " 6 " 10 "

We observe the great number of small craft, and the lowest range doubtless included those often mentioned by others carrying from 15 to 20 tons. The ketch¹ was a favorite two-masted vessel, not to be confounded with the schooner invented in the beginning of the next century. The chief mast was well aft, nearly amidships; the other, a short one, was very near the stern. They carried lateen sails at first, but in the eighteenth century the mainmast was square-rigged, like a ship's foremast, and the small one like the mizzen of a modern bark.² These little sloops and ketches carried on the coasting traffic, and ventured upon foreign voyages. George Fox, on his voyage from Newport or Narragansett to New York in 1672, "came to anchor before Fisher's Island, where we lay in our sloop that night also. There fell abundance of rain, and our sloop being open, we were exceeding wet."³

Sufficient attention has not been given to shipbuilding, that very powerful factor in the exchanges and resources of our colonies. Timber and sawed lumber were desirable enough everywhere. But timber shaped into a wooden wall, capable of breasting any sea, was coveted eagerly by all nations. The saga-

Ships as factors in the exchanges.

some 2 or 300 tons most built in their owne Collony." *Doc. N. Y.*, iii. 263.

¹ *Suffolk Probate Records*, 1670, vii. 105. For the value we cite the following inventory:—

"A catch called the Sarah, £50; $\frac{4}{15}$ of a catch Endeavor, £80; $\frac{3}{10}$ of a ship Supply, £150; $\frac{2}{3}$ of a catch Expedition, £60; $\frac{1}{15}$ of a ship Content, £30; $\frac{5}{12}$ of a catch Hopewell, £50; $\frac{2}{3}$ of a catch Roe Auck, £40; $\frac{1}{2}$ of a catch Mary Ann, £40; $\frac{1}{2}$ of a catch Exchange, £20; $\frac{1}{2}$ of a flatbottomed boat, £5."

² Babson, *Hist. Gloucester*, p. 251.

³ George Fox, *Journal*, p. 444.

cious fathers, with timely wisdom, had brought shipwrights from England, who were complete masters of the art of building ships in their day. The descendants of these men, aided by the hardy seamen bred in the fisheries, could launch the best and cheapest vessel to be had in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Randolph saw little to commend in the people of Massachusetts, but he said their ships were good and "very cheap."¹

Such a ship, loaded with masts and spars needed for other ships, or with fish always in demand, manned by an enterprising crew, sailed for the best market, sold her cargo, took freight for England, now becoming a commercial centre;² was sold there, and the crew came home for a new venture. The proceeds of vessel, cargo, and freights were turned into the few articles of European manufacture needed to complete the circle of these exchanges. Timber, pork, peas, and corn, with labor, were converted by clever skill into money in London.

If the half of Randolph's statements be true, the Navigation Acts, as they were administered, reacted in favor of New England commerce and industry. We know from other sources that the Acts were evaded constantly. He says, "there is little left for the merchants residing in England to import into *any* [italics are mine] of the plantations, those of New England being able to afford their goods much cheaper than such who pay the customs and are laden in England."³

The Acts
benefit New
England.

The merchants kept their ships constantly employed, forcing a trade at all ports, and Boston was the "Mart town" of the West Indies in 1676. The New Englanders outstripped the merchants of the Islands and of England; they would not conform to "set prices."⁴ Guinea

¹ *Hutchinson Papers*, ii. 232.

² John Hull, *Let. Book*, 1671, Am. Ant. Soc.

³ *Hutchinson Papers*, ii. 231.

⁴ *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1661-1668, p. 548.

negroes¹ grew the West India sugar, cotton, and indigo ; Virginia planted tobacco ; New England gathered fish and timber : all these products of the New Hemisphere gave an immense stimulus to the business of the Old World. According to Randolph, New England had the “call of the market”² in handling all these goods. This little start is an enormous advantage in turning trade at any time.

John Hull’s little ketches were flying constantly to Barbadoes, and he calls for Spanish iron in “barre or bolts.” That metal stood then as Swedish iron ranks now. It went from Spain to get the colonial sugar made by the toiling negro slaves. It came to New England, where it was wrought by the sturdy blacksmiths, so highly appreciated in all our communities, into iron-work for vessels. This iron-work, all forged, was often imported from Europe ; but hand labor was used everywhere then, and nowhere did the artisan find such social opportunity as in growing New England.

English capital in the form of credit helped in these operations ; an interesting memorandum² of 1666 shows us how. It is a proposal by a contractor or middle-man in Boston for running a vessel, to be owned in England, for the account alternately of either contractor or owners. The contractor is to load her for England, victualling at his own charge, and paying “monthly hire” for the ship to the owners. Then, on every arrival of the ship in the colonies, she was to be laden with “great sized masts, planks, knees, and other lumber” for the owners’ account. But the “predisburse” of the contractor for this cargo was not to be repaid until her arrival in England.

¹ The Royal African Company, their ships Coronation, Charles, Rupert, etc., telling of the Restoration, played a great part in importing these slaves. See *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1661-1668, pp. 176, 266.

² *Mass. Arch.*, lx. 84.

The intention seemed to be to commit the contractor through his first shipment for his own account, victualling, "monthly hire," etc., and through his advance of another cargo, which the owners would not repay until a second arrival of the vessel in England. The contractor was to control solely the "course round from England till she return to England again." Extraordinary demurs, embargoes of princes, etc., were to be at the risk of the owners.

This for the voyage; now for procuring the vessels: "4thly If good Hollands rigging and sail cloth with iron works shall be sent me, with orders to build here; then I shall build here on mine charge as cheap as I can, the owners engaging to pay my whole disburse by Bills of Exchange in London not to be drawn on them till the ship shall be laden and ready to sail for England, so that the owners will be nothing out of purse for building till they receive their ship in England and so much of the building charge also abated as the hire of the ship will come to England."¹

We may observe that there was no outlay of English capital excepting for the Hollands rigging and sail-cloth with the iron-work. On the American side, as we have shown, the building was an industrial barter, for which the prospective London Exchange, when the vessel should be ready to sail, furnished the lever and lifting power.

Thus these enterprising adventurers ran their busy little craft into all the seas of the Western Hemisphere. Details of the management are scattered here and there. The ship Anthony, in 1673,² buys 382 yds. canvas for £35, pays 12s. for twine, and £2 9s. 4d. for making two topsails. The ship Salamander, in 1681,³ has a more important bill, in a foreign port probably.

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, lx. 84.

² *Ibid.* lxi. 19-25.

³ 1681. *Mass. Arch.* lxi. 223. Computed expenses of ship Salamander:—

The General Court of Massachusetts, among many statutes on maritime affairs, watches the builders, and in 1667¹ appoints a committee to bring in a law against bad shipwrights. The increasing commerce needs a dry dock;² and in the same year a monopoly of 15 years, afterward extended to 21 years, is offered to any one who will build it. In 1668³ they work into a statute minute regulations for their vessels in all maritime affairs. In 1680⁴ it is recorded that masters and mariners when in port received

Regulation of ships and mariners. half pay. The vagrant ways of seafaring men, while in port, annoyed the Puritan shipmasters,

whom John Hull and other owners instructed in the "sanctification" of their vessels. In 1682⁵ an act forbade all seamen to purchase anything on trust. Changes in the destination of voyages annoyed the crews, and were frequently submitted to the authorities in port for adjudication.⁶ Vessels over 12 tons had to get permission in Massachusetts⁷ to leave port. Rhode Island⁸ obliged them to notify the authorities, and to post a notice for three days; the limit there was at 20 tons. Vessels were sometimes impressed for government services: "major Jen-

	£ s. d.
Amount advanced to Seamen	40 00 00
For seamen and laborers who unload and stow cargo .	25 00 00
For Carpenter, new mainmast, stores, supplies and re-pairs	60 00 00
For wharfage, storehouse room, and cooperage	25 00 00
For Captain's necessary expenses, money paid for the court order for translating papers	20 00 00
To carry away the ship, for victuals and necessaries for the voyage	80 00 00
	<hr/> £250 00 00

¹ *M. C. R.*, iv. part 2, 345.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 346, 368, and *Mass. Arch.*, lx. 50.

³ *M. C. R.*, p. 388.

⁴ *Mass. Arch.*, lxi. 214.

⁵ *Ibid.*, lxi. 273.

⁶ *Ibid.*, lxi. 17, 146.

⁷ *Ibid.*, lxi. 148, 218,—in 1676 and 1680.

⁸ *R. I. C. R.*, iii. 32,—in 1679.

erale Dorrison" issues a warrant in 1676 in behalf of "King and cuntary," on which a shallop is taken and the owner was allowed 40s. per month.¹ Smallpox interferes with navigation very often, and quarantine is enforced.² Surveyors of goods damaged on shipboard are appointed in the various ports.³

All these details of maritime life have less significance than the one little note of one who wished to learn the "art and mistry of navigation and of a marriner,"⁴ and who bound himself an apprentice to a sailor, for four years. Seven hundred out of the seven hundred and thirty vessels reported by Randolph were under 100 tons burden. In these little craft the hardy sailors, bred in Newfoundland fishing and in the coasting of Long Island Sound, braved the "vexed Bermoothes" and the narrow Straits of Gibraltar. Cribbed and confined as they were, they taught the 'prentice hands of boys who in the next century garnered wealth enough in New England to maintain the solid social systems of Winthrop and the fathers, and to extend these systems into independent states.

Commerce changes persons as well as goods, and these men developed a sturdy self-reliance seldom found in common affairs. The Yankee coasting skipper of the southern and eastern shores of our colonies was of a type as remarkable as that of the Phœnician trader who opened up the "thalassic" trade of the Mediterranean. Generally part owner⁵ of vessel and cargo, always a trader and adventurer, he went from port to port, beyond control of owners, who would not have directed him if they could. All the coast harbors, Milford, New London, Newport, Plymouth, Boston, Salem, Portsmouth, sent out and received these busy ketches and

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, lxi. 143.

² *Ibid.*, lxi. 155.

³ *Ibid.*, lxi. 226.

⁴ *Ibid.*, lxi. 294.

⁵ Caulkins, *New Lon.*, p. 233.

Sailors take apprentices.

The Yankee skipper.

shallops, — transient hucksters of the sea. Skipper and boy often made the crew; if a sailor was added, he often carried a venture of his own, trading his way upward into mastership and ownership. The mackerel craft of the summer, in winter coasted among the Southern colonies trading lumber and fish for grain and flour.¹

They extended the intercourse to Manhattan and the Long Island shore. The Long Islanders lacked the enterprise of the mainland. They sent fruit to Boston in 1667, and it was claimed then that they might gain more "if they would be industrious."² Freight was then £1 12s. per ton from Boston to Connecticut and Long Island.³

The very great difference made in early development by water communication is shown in the relative charges for the transportation of wheat in the Connecticut valley in 1669.⁴ Carting from Northampton to Windsor cost one shilling; thence to Hartford the water carriage was twopence, and again to Boston sixpence. This made the freight from the farm to the market 1s. 8d., the larger fraction of which was consumed in the first few miles of land journey.

Intercourse by the coasting trade⁵ was in advance of the time, but it was not unrestricted. The restriction of profits to 3d. in the shilling existed in 1663.⁶ The clumsy

¹ Deane, *Scituate*, p. 27.

² Br. Cal. S. P. Col. 1661-1668, p. 543.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Judd, *Hadley*, p. 83.

⁵ Mass. Archives, lxi. 120.

Specimen cargo of a coaster, 1675.

Invoice of goods shipped on board a sloop: 4 hhds. of peas, i. e. 40 or 50 bush.; 1 hhd. of salt; wine; 1 barrel of rum; 2 barrels of raisins; 1 barrel of ginger; 1 cask of musket bullets; 1 cask swan shot; 1 leather bag of swan shot; 1 barrel of powder; 6 jars of oil; 90 pairs of shoes; 24 pairs of stockings; 15 waistcoats; 15 pairs of drawers; 10 barrels of pork.

⁶ Hazard, *Hist. Col.*, ii. 472.

statutes of the fathers checked movement in Massachusetts in 1676;¹ and in Connecticut in 1677 the old restrictions on leather and skins force one Gershom Bulkeley² to ask liberty of export, when he would send out some deerskins to procure medicines.

Duties under the Navigation Acts were levied by the crown. The colonies also collected small imposts on imported goods: those of Massachusetts are enumerated by Randolph in 1676.³ The Court worked at these customs in 1668, 1670, 1680.⁴ Wine⁵ from Spain, Portugal, and Madeira was the chief source of these revenues.

Of all the dutiable articles in King Charles's exchequer, none was so profitable or so uncertain as tobacco. It "smells well" in the returns, says one humorous old chronicler. But much more smell escaped in those wreaths of smoke which floated off in serene unconsciousness that the king's revenue had been defrauded.

Imposta.

Subtleties of
tobacco.

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, lxi. 133.

² *Conn. Arch., Tr. and Mar. Aff.*, i.

³ See *Hutchinson Papers*, ii. 233.

⁴ *Mass. Arch.*, lx. 36, 48; lxi. 193.

⁵ The method of the trade is shown in the following invoice taken from the account of Robert Gibbs, in 1669, in the *Curwin Papers*, Am. Ant. Soc. :—

Wines for acc^t. of M^r Robert Penderais receaved from aboard y^e Hercules, John wing Command being to buy in D. To Sundry acco^t Viz^t.

To cash paid freight of said wine att £3	£15.00.00
To ditto paid custome, at	5.00.00
To cooperidg at 4s per Tun	1.00.00
To wharfage, lighterage, porteridg, <i>et al</i>	1.00.00
To selleridg of said wines at 2s per Tunn a month is	9.00.00
To my commission for sales & returnes 10s per £	11.04.00
To Invoise loaden aboard y ^e Nathaniell	69.00.00
	<hr/>
	£112.00.00

In 1663 the Farmers of the Customs declared more than once that great abuses were committed, "as well by the Inhabitants and Planters on, as by the Masters, mariners, and traders to, Virginia, New England, Maryland, Long Island, &c."¹ Under pretence of supplying these plantations in their coasting trade with tobacco, they carried it to the Dutch in such quantities that the officers claimed the revenue lost £10,000 per annum or more thereby. This large intercourse with the Dutch at New Amsterdam inspired the English authorities with the fear that a political union between New England and Holland² might spring from it. There were nine New England³ vessels selling tobacco at New Amsterdam in one week in 1669. Tobacco went everywhere, and stimulated the commerce of every port.⁴ In 1666 the complaints were louder yet, and one report claimed that £100,000 of proper revenue was lost in Virginia tobacco.⁵ In 1674 Governor Leverett was brought to account for misdemeanors of the Massachusetts in this direction. He answered⁶ that he knew of but one vessel going from "our parts" with tobacco; the vessels were "mostly as it is sayd with logwood."

The Indians had never ceased to be a strong element in colonial life,—either helping it forward, or threatening it with disaster. In this period their tribal power was broken in a series of wars which taxed the utmost resources of our colonists. Indian peltry had less relative importance as the resources of settled communities were developed. Yet furs were necessary, and beaver⁷ and moose appear frequently in moderate

¹ *Doc. Col. New York*, iii. 47.

² *Ibid.*, 211.

³ *Ibid.*, 183.

⁴ *New Hamp. H. C.*, viii. 205.

⁵ *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1661-1668, pp. 354, 382.

⁶ *Hutchinson Pap.*, ii. 201.

⁷ In 1678, 13 skins, weighing 19 lbs., are appraised at £10 in money. *Bos. T. Rec.*, p. 123.

quantities in John Hull's remittances to England. Before the wars of 1676 the New Englanders pushed their Hudson River voyages so vigorously that the authorities at New Amsterdam remonstrated. In 1670¹ the Council published an order forbidding the New England men to trade horses and cattle for beaver at Albany. Like most commercial restrictions of the time, it had little effect. In 167⁵ complaints are made to Andros that this Albany beaver trade, formerly secluded, is now interfered with by "the Bosteners in small vessels."²

This Indian fur trade was much affected by the course of a Dutch woollen fabric called Duffels or Duffles. Probably it was made in Flanders; it was excluded from England to favor home manufacturers. Or, as the New Amsterdam merchants petition, because it was called cloth; they say, "It cannot be called cloath, it is worse than a sorte called wadmoll w^{ch} daily comes from some part of holland, and not ever worne by any Christians only by the Indians."³ As Denonville reported of the Huron Indians, they liked the manners of the French, "but the cheap goods of the English better."⁴

Popularity
of French
manners and
of English
goods.

Our Yankees had not enough of this stimulating commerce to hurt them. Undoubtedly, its fascinating hazards and its lawless conduct injured more than it favored the development of Canada.⁵

These distant enterprises were forwarded by the Boston merchants, who risked largely in conducting them. Sir William Temple in 1668 had ports⁶ in Acadia,—

¹ *Doc. Col. N. Y.*, xiii. 458. ² *Ibid.*, iii. 238.

³ *Ibid.*, iii. 187.

⁴ Parkman, *Frontenac*, p. 118.

⁵ Parkman, *Old Reg.*, p. 303.

⁶ *Mass. Arch.*, lx. 157. "Specimen list of supplies for this trade. 1677; Stores that M. St. Castine desired would be shipped to him: 3 barrels of pork, 4 barrels of rum, molasses & wine, 2 dozen of Irish hose, 4 barrels of flour, 5 bushels of pease, 4 kintalls of biscuit, 10 bushels of Indian Corn, 350 yards of Cotton & Dussles, some

the old La Tour field of speculation,—and was supplied for their maintenance by Usher¹ and Shrimpton, of Boston. Temple was to reimburse them in beaver and other peltry “this fall and Spring season & soe successively.” For security Temple mortgages house and lands in Boston, farmhouse, etc., at Deer Island; Ketch Pelican, of 50 tons, 400 sheep, and 60 head of cattle at Noddle’s Island, etc.² The amount already due was £2,278 4s. 6d.

There are many indications that commerce—hardly begun outside Boston in 1650—increased and extended in the period we are treating, and spread its influence all

<sup>Increase of
the small
ports.</sup> along the shores of New England. We have cited the vigorous shipbuilding and West Indian trade of Connecticut. Rhode Island was

equally active in the West Indies. Callender, eighty years after, estimated less than 200 families in the whole colony in 1659.³ There must have been vigorous trade and prosperity, for the observer who reports in the Egerton MS. (2395, f. 70), at the approximate date of 1675, gives 400 houses to Newport and 200 to Portsmouth, R. I.⁴ The lands along Narragansett Bay furnished the cargoes needed for that market. As soon as the Narragansett tribes were broken, almost destroyed, in 1676, the shores of Bay and ocean were improved, and their products were poured into Newport. In 1682⁵ a naval office was opened there to register all “deck vessels” according to the Acts of Navigation. Salisbury, on the Merrimac, becomes a port of entry in 1684.⁶ The commerce of Ipswich in 1685 becomes of sufficient consequence to escape the leading-strings of Salem, and to establish a port of its own.⁷ Ran-

Blankets, 25 lbs. of red lead, 10 dozen knives, 30 pounds of raisins; a cheese and a barrel of butter.”

¹ This was probably Hull’s Hezekiah Usher, who died in 1676, “a pious and useful merchant.” *Diaries*, p. 341.

² Sumner, *E. Boston*, p. 222.

⁴ *Mag. Am. Hist.*, viii. 851.

⁶ *Mass. Arch.*, lxi. 261.

³ *R. I. H. C.*, iv. 149.

⁵ *R. I. Col. R.*, iii. 110.

⁷ *Mass. Arch.*, lxi. 289.

dolph reported Portsmouth "a town of very great trade" as early as 1676.¹

In 1663 Hull² says 60 ships besides ketches³ came into Boston; The Society carried out the larger part of "the returns for this latter part of the year," and The Supply took the remainder. In the year 1664 "near 100 sail of ours and strangers"⁴ came and took outward cargoes. In 1669 Maverick writes to Sampson Bond,⁵ "ship^s & stirrингe merchts are the only want heare."

The want must have been met. Randolph's⁶ list of vessels owned in Massachusetts alone in 1676⁷ shows 230 above 50 tons. They would average more than one voyage a year; these voyages, with the foreign arrivals, would show a large increase over Hull's 100 entries in 1664 at Boston. Randolph sets down about 30 merchants in Massachusetts estimated at £10,000 to £20,000; a good capital for the commerce of the seventeenth century. "Most have considerable estates and very great trades."⁸ And these men grew bolder as their means and views enlarged. John Hull, gorged with pine-tree shillings, was too timid to send lumber and fish to the Canaries, being "totally ignorant of those markets."⁹ He declines a consignment of wines, preferring the short voyages and quick returns of the West Indies. But about 1676, the bolder men sent cargoes of masts and yards to Guinea, to Madagascar, and the adjoining coasts,¹⁰ bringing back negroes, and they voyaged to "Iskander," a Turkish port in Syria.

¹ *Hutchinson Pap.*, ii. 245.

² *Diaries*, p. 210.

³ The ketches made voyages to Europe, but Hull excepts them in his report.

⁴ Hull's *Diaries*, p. 214.

⁵ 4 *M. H. C.*, vii. 318.

⁶ See Palfrey, iii. 566, for a later report from Randolph on the commerce of Boston, subsequent to 1688.

⁷ *Hutchinson Pap.*, 232.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

⁹ Hull, *Let. Book*, 1673, Am. Ant. Soc.

¹⁰ *Hutchinson Pap.*, ii. 232.

If we look at the direction, interchange, and expansion of this trade, we see that it was American and foreign, not American and English. To Virginia, Jamaica, and Mary-

^{Commerce with the larger world.} land there went salted beef and pork, codfish and mackerel, flour, biscuit, and malt, with peas ; to Barbadoes and the other islands, the same commodities, and horses, boards, staves, with houses ready framed ; to Spain, Portugal, Gibraltar, and the Western Islands, fish and lumber ; to England, "masts and yards for ships, firre and oake plankes with all sorts of peltry."¹ The list to England, though valuable in essence, is small in quantity, and in that transitory bulk which promotes commerce and industry. Hull frequently speaks of one or two vessels carrying to England the "returns for the year." Those "houses ready framed" and ships ready built carried not only produce but industrial enterprise to markets waiting to exchange silver, iron, sugar, and other valuable goods for the work of New England artisans.

Sir Josiah Child had reason for his harsh sayings against New England, according to the economic ideas then prevailing. He advocated the Acts of Navigation² firmly, because they helped England. With all his fellows, English or Continental, he held that the trade of colonies should be confined to the mother countries, and that "New England was the most prejudicial plantation to the kingdom."³ In the eyes of the citizen of the world he was wrong, but according to seventeenth century England he was right.

We have heard much in modern times of free ships and free goods ; "free" varying in interpretation with economic circumstance. There could be no such actual free trade as that which a cheaply built

¹ *Hutchinson Pap.*, ii. 230.

² *Rep. Br. Hist. Ms.* 1881 ; *House Lords Cal.*, pp. 133, 134.

³ Child, *Disc. Trade*, p. 135.

ship, carrying commodities escaped from customs, had in running against a dear vessel laden with a taxed cargo. England was stripping trade from the Dutch and prospering; New England was taking trade from all lands,—as the above list shows,—and was striding forward rapidly, circumstance and energy compensating for lack of capital. Even the English were then far behind the Dutch in accumulated capital.¹

This prosperity was not hindered by the Navigation Acts. The great expansion in colonial commerce from 1663 to 1676 and 1685 rather ^{The Acts} help. shows that these Acts—loosely administered, or wholly evaded in an unfriendly community—helped the commerce of the young but vigorous colonies of New England.

¹ *Rep. Br. Hist. Ms.*, 1881; *House Lords Cal.*, pp. 133, 134.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE NEW ENGLANDER IN HIS HOME.

1663–1690.

PARLIAMENT, protectorate, and crown had kept control of England, but the lesser England, the child across the seas, had put off its European swaddling clothes and was building up free communities. These carried their own springs of life within them, and tended toward free and independent states. A seventeenth century king like Charles the Second, valuing his prerogative highly, could not relish the sovereign attitude of these burghers. He might accept presents of masts, and chaff about the “honest dogs” who dared to coin money for themselves, but he would take care for the substance of the royal power. The Navigation Acts were for the whole kingdom. Other matters needed especial attention in the colonies.

He sent a commission, which insisted on two points¹ as essential to the maintenance of the king’s rights.
Royal messengers. These were, (1) the appointment of royal governors, and (2) the command of the military forces of the colonies. In the eyes of the commission, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Plymouth made a good appearance of loyalty. Massachusetts was “the last and hardest persuaded to use his Majesty’s name in their forms of justice.”²

Their way of government was “Commonwealth-like.” Their worship was rude, and called Congregational; while the commission, with superficial knowledge probably, called

¹ *Doc. Col. N. Y.*, iii. 60.

² *Cal. Lr. S. P. Col.* 1661–1668, pp. 344–346.

the people of Connecticut rigid Presbyterians. The Massachusetts men were more than half inclined to be refractory. They hoped to tire out king, chancellor, and secretaries; could "easily spin out seven years by writing;" meanwhile a change might come. Then, the Netherlands having a good holding at New Amsterdam, and being at war with England, something might come of it for New England.

The distinction of freeman and non-freeman¹ in Massachusetts puzzled all the English messengers and observers. To satisfy the crown — prompted by petitioners from the colony — an act had been passed that an orthodox housekeeper paying 10s. rates should be admitted a freeman. But the commissioners said that scarce three in one hundred paid 10s. at a single rate, and that a church member, "though he be a servant and pay not 2d, may be a freeman." That church members would not commune with outsiders, yet would marry their children "to such if they be rich," surpassed the spiritual comprehension of easy-going English squires. It was evident that standards of citizenship set up in England did not prevail here, and that the various restrictions and obligations described in the evolution of our communities did not suit the ideas of English statesmen.

Without doubt, the modulated democracy developed in the Congregational system of worship befits a commonwealth or republic. In simple communities — without a bishop, and soon to be without a king — these town polities clustering about the meeting-house served well in founding a new state. In this system it was essential that several parts should be fused into one whole.² Detached individuals and petty communities

Growth of
town com-
munities.

¹ Bredon's Rep. in *Doc. Col. N. Y.*, iii. 39, and *Cal. Br. S. P. Col. 1661-1668*, p. 344.

² But the welding of the communities into a political state was a slow process. The towns kept their separate responsibility to the

could neither nourish their own communal life nor breast the dangers of the wilderness. Connecticut in 1677 found that in scattered settlements "the posterity of such, most of them, are endangered to degenerate to heathenish ignorance and barbarisme."¹ She forbade any future plantations except in "such neerness together" that the settlers could protect each other and could develop social life. The period of colonial decadence had begun. In 1665, the commissioners reported that every Connecticut town or village had "a scholar to their minister." But the good material going into the settlement of New England could not be afforded without limit; toward the close of the century the quality fell off. The rulers saw that settlements must be conducted with great care.

The settlement of Worcester illustrates the principle ^{Illustrated} under consideration. The little hamlet of Quin-
in Worcester sigamond, begun in 1669, had been swept away in Philip's war. These first settlers — taking their minister, that they might "not live like lambs in a large place," — gave to "the meanest in habit"² not less than a 25 acre house-lot. To others they gave two or three lots, according "to the quality, estate, usefulness and other considerations (of) the ps ons & family," with pasture and common lands, etc.

In 1684 the settlement was taken in hand by Daniel Henchman and a company of undertakers, under the authority of the General Court.³ Planters who had forfeited,⁴ on payment of arrears were to be made equal to new proprietors. The plantation was to be divided into 480 lots, of which 400 were to bear charges and 80 were colonial treasury. Hull, the Treasurer, in 1683, asks the Court to "quicken up Salem and others;" "To send in speedily upon some Penalty what they are yet behind with me." J. Hull, *Diaries*, p. 250.

¹ *Conn. C. R.*, ii. 328.

² *Worc. Prop. Rec.*, i. 15.

³ *Ibid.*, iii. 34 *et seq.*

⁴ It was common for settlers to forfeit their grants if they did not build a dwelling within one year. See, in 1680, Bronson's *Waterbury, Ct.*, p. 44.

to be free of rates; 200 lots were to be apportioned to D. Henchman and the undertakers, and 200 lots were to be disposed of to settlers.¹ The 80 free lots were assigned to Daniel Geokin for procuring the grant, also for the ministry, school and master, training and burial places, saw-mill, gristmill, for useful trades, and for a fulling-mill, when the place is "capable thereof," etc.

The most significant of all the details in this founding of a community was the provision and plan for the centre, the heart of the whole system. "Land for a cittadel of about half a mile square shalbe laid out on the fort River for house lots." Each of the 480 — the working, agricultural fields — was to have a house-lot in the citadel at least six rods square. The undertakers are directed to build in the citadel two "fire rooms," for the shelter of those coming to settle and of travellers, until the ordinary is ready. These arrangements were not all perfected, but were followed according to the exigencies of a new settlement.

Could there be a better example of the union of town and country, of city and shire, of market-place and field? Production and defence, land subdued and home developed, combine in one well-ordered system. The coast line was filled, sites on the great rivers had been occupied, points contiguous to the first settlements had been gradually improved. Now a community, after one failure, after a half century of experience in others, was set down in an interior wilderness, — set down deliberately and with the careful methods indicated.

The older communities kept fast hold of the conduct of their members,² in the manner begun in the early days. Holders of land and houses, and new set-

A village
centre for
protection.

¹ *Worc. Prop. Rec.*, iii. 34.

² See the interesting case of Frederic Ellis at Norwich in 1678 (Caulkins, p. 102). He was admitted, and carefully restricted in his rights.

control of
citizens.

tlers seeking admission,¹ could be regulated under the general direction of the statutes. It was more difficult to bring the waifs and strays existing in all societies into accord with the settled notions of these colonies. Of liberty, of personal freedom to act at will, there was none. Persons were taxed as well as property. In one instance in 1682, single persons of three months' residence paid five shillings, while the "rate of faculties and personal abilities"² was left at the discretion of the assessors. The bounds between towns were supervised by "perambulators" regularly appointed.³ Among the curiosities of town legislation, we observe that Guilford, Conn., votes to buy drugs and pay for them by an assessed rate.⁴ Norwich bought hayseed at the town charge.⁵

Harboring strangers,⁶ and even relatives, was a constant source of bickering between authorities and citizens, and between different towns. The purchaser of a slave was responsible to the town for maintenance.⁷ Householders did not let or hire without interference.⁸ A widow⁹ cannot entertain her son-in-law and another. Widow Collins¹⁰ is allowed by Dorchester to remain, as Boston agrees to be responsible for her, in 1665. A man is fined "under distress" 10s., in 1671,¹¹ for entertaining his own daughter; she was a married woman, and alleged that she could not return to her husband on account of the winter. Likewise, if any one desired to leave the colony he must post his name with an officer appointed by the governor in each seaport, with the vessel on which he would sail.¹²

¹ Caulkins, *Norwich*, p. 102.

² Munro, *Bristol, R. I.*, p. 115.

³ *Boston T. Rec.*, p. 35.

⁴ *Hist. Guilford*, p. 41.

⁵ Caulkins, *Norwich*, p. 100.

⁶ Caulkins, *N. Lon.*, p. 136; *N. Hamp. H. C.*, viii.

⁷ *Proc. M. H. S.*, 1878, p. 263.

⁸ *N. Hamp. H. C.*, viii. 34; Deane, *Scituate*, p. 110; *Boston T. Rec.*, pp. 126, 156; *Lancaster Rec.*, p. 90; Baylies, *Plymouth*, ii. 280.

⁹ *Dorchester T. Rec.*, p. 125.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

¹² *Mass. Arch.*, lxi. 231.

These restrictions were economical, from the fear that the town might be obliged to support¹ these persons. Other restrictions were from prudential or moral reasons. Bridgewater² appointed two men to "enquire" who drink strong liquors in the ordinaries. Dorchester not only dealt with young men for "disorderly living," but brought sixteen before the selectmen, who were not under the government of families "as the law enjoyns."³ The same occurred in other towns.⁴ These measures enlarged the scope and the numbers of the family.⁵ They account partially for the large average number in the families of that time. It is claimed on the authority of an old MS. that in 1675 the average was 9,02 persons.⁶ All were not of kin in the household, but it included laborers, servants, and dependents.

Our fathers did not scruple at meddling and interfering with personal freedom — even to the parting of mother and child — if the interest of the community required it, as they conceived. The wise men of Dorchester⁷ summoned Francis Bale to inquire "concerning his outward estate." Francis could not respond to their satisfaction, and they advised him to dispose of two of his children. His wife was not willing, and they "*p'swaded him to p'swad his wife to it.*" The civilisation of one age becomes barbaric in the eyes of another and a changed time.

¹ *Mass. C. R.*, v. 144.

² Mitchell, p. 62.

³ *Dorchester T. Rec.*, p. 158.

⁴ *Lancaster Rec.*, p. 94; *Chase, Haverhill*, p. 117.

⁵ We can only account in this way for the notion of large families so prevalent. In the "Account of People distressed by the War in the Mass. Colony 1676" (*N. Hamp. H. C.*, iii. 101), in 38 towns there were 510 families, numbering 1,921 persons. These were relieved from the Irish Charity by the distribution of £300 3s. 0d. There were 400 persons relieved besides.

⁶ *N. E. H. & G. Reg.*, xxxix. 83.

⁷ *Town Rec.*, p. 236.

The old guild regulations¹ were more or less enforced,
 Guild survivals. and the towns continued to make especial grants
 for "useful trades." Reading² settles a shoemaker in 1677, granting land and a "privilege of wood and herbage." Apprenticeship³ is carefully overlooked. The term is generally for seven years, and complaint is made by the coopers more than once when a man employs his son, who has not served his term.⁴ In one case a felt-maker indents a lad for eight years.⁵

Some negroes are imported as slaves from Barbadoes,⁶ and some Indians⁷ are sent there in return. The Indians are treated more harshly after Philip's war.⁸ Debtors were half civil trespassers and half slaves. They were sold for servants for terms of years. In Rhode Island William Blanden⁹ was allowed to work out a judgment of £7.14.6, New England silver, instead of lying in jail, and it was considered a humane action of the court.

¹ *Bos. Town Rec.*, pp. 36, 49, 68.

² *Eaton*, p. 25.

³ About 1678. Drake's *Roxbury*, p. 64. The following extract is from the indenture of an apprentice whom Samuel Williams and wife engage to teach the "art, trade, mistery, and science" of a shoemaker, agreeing also to teach him to "wright :" "The said Josaph shall truly and faithfully serve, his Counsels lawful and honest obey, his seacrefts shall keep, hurt to his master he shall not doe nor consent to be done, at unlawful games he shall not play, nor from his masters buisnes absent himselfe by night or day, his masters goods he shall not wast nor imbezzell, nor them lend without his masters Consent. Taverns and ale Howses he shall not frequent except about his masters business there to be done but as a true and faithful servant ought to behave himselfe in word and deed during the said terme, . . . and at the end of six years to give their said apprentice doubell apparell, one suit for the Lord's day and one suit for the working days meet an comely for one of his degree and calling."

⁴ *Bos. T. Rec.*, p. 39.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁶ Chalmers, *Pol. An.*, p. 602.

⁷ Conn. *C. R.*, ii. 53; Durfee, *R. I. Tracts*, p. 131.

⁸ Butler's, *Groton*, p. 89; Freeman, *Cape Cod*, p. 198.

⁹ Durfee, *R. I. Tracts*, p. 126.

One of the most painful signs of the times is visible in the Massachusetts statute¹ of 1683 to prevent any from selling themselves into servitude for one debt in order to avoid other debts. We can hardly conceive or imagine the grinding pressure these poor delinquents must have endured.

The Massachusetts General Court took a wise step in 1672 by forbidding laborers to demand liquors as a part of their wages. The same edict had been issued in 1645. Then they were not to be forced to take wine in part payment. Now, by a curious inversion, the moral motive is subordinated to the economic motive of the law. It says the oppression of excessive wages is increased by the custom of demanding liquors and the habit of drinking is encouraged, therefore it is forbidden, etc.² Wages are regulated and fines are imposed for excess; also for excessive prices charged by the merchants.³

The administration of the common lands,⁴ and of the timber growing upon them, is one of the interesting features in the communal life of New England. In the first period, before homes and farms were fully organised, more detailed action was needed for organising town governments. But the same principles prevail, and the same spirit animates the burghers, now that town life is more classified and better ordered.

Administration
of the
commons.

There were several degrees in the control of the timber exercised by the towns. 1. There was the strong desire to keep as many sticks as possible, as things of value which were common property. This feeling prevailed in all the towns.⁵ 2. The desire for building vessels, for

¹ *M. C. R.*, v. 415.

² *M. C. R.*, iv. 2, 510.

³ *Ibid.*, v. 63; *M. Arch.*, cxix. 29; *Sewall, Woburn*, p. 58.

⁴ *Narragansett H. R.*, iii. 318; and *MS. Records of Providence; Lancaster Records*, p. 83.

⁵ *Judd, Hadley*, p. 107; *Bailey, Andover*, p. 574; *Chase, Haverhill*, p. 121; *Winsor, Duxbury*, 86; *Babson, Gloucester*, 204.

establishing tanneries using bark, and such especial enterprises,¹ prompted one class of grants. 3. The wider use of wood, wrought into lumber, staves, house frames, shingles, etc., for export, was allowed by some towns, while others were forbidding it altogether.²

Landholders kept the ways cleared of underbrush opposite their own estates.³ The first colonists found land cleared by the Indians, ready to their use, but it became necessary to clear anew. The undergrowth injured the pastures and herd-walks, and patrols of men assembled on the beating of the drum⁴ to burn the brush. There were "wood-reeves" for this office.⁵

Connecticut in 1670, to encourage sheep-growing, ordered every person to work one day in each year in clearing the underwood to benefit pasturage.⁶

A singular illustration of the principles of our community occurs in Reading in 1669.⁷ In this Government by a community. system sometimes the individual and family

were made to bend for the good of all the people, and at other times the whole people were circumscribed in order that personal liberty might be exercised more freely. We cannot study this complicated social machine too much in detail; for in these movements of the towns, our forefathers revealed the secrets of their political action. Reading had divided its "Great Swamp" into lots held in severalty. Then it decreed that all the wood should be free to any of the townsmen forever. Nor should any proprietor burn the wood on his own land, "but it shall grow there until the owner or some of the townsmen shall make use of it, and he that cutts the wood

¹ Felt, *An. Salem*, ii. 183; Freeman, *Cape Cod*, 66; Paige, *Cambridge*, 96; Stone's *Beverly*, p. 317.

² Baylies, *Plymouth*, ii. 114; *Prov. Pap. N. Hamp.*, i. 468.

³ *Worc. Prop. Rec.*, p. 15. ⁴ Thompson, *L. Isl.*, ii. 99.

⁵ Worthington, *Dedham*, p. 14. ⁶ *Conn. C. R.*, ii. 139.

⁷ Eaton, *Reading*, p. 21.

shall cutt up Butt and Top." Here the town united, in a curious way, the advantages of severalty in the improvement of land and of commonalty in the use of timber,—of preservation in the hands of the individual and of enjoyment by the whole society.

In another direction, Marblehead, in 1682, worked for a similar purpose. Richard Reed, an old man, had forfeited his lease of land for a fish fence. It was voted that on payment of £2 the arrears should be abated, and that he should enjoy the lease for life.¹

At Providence,² in 1680, a "right of commoning on East side of four mile line" was inventoried at £3.

The commons were open, and stallions, many of them inferior, ran at large among the mares. It was feared that the whole breed of horses would deteriorate, and that "useful creature become a burden." Massachusetts excluded from the commons³ all stone horses under fourteen hands high, and not of "comely proportion."

The custom of herding on the common lands continues, and binds the circles of freeholders together. ^{Custom of} Herd-walks and sheep-walks⁴ appear in many ^{herding.} places. Boston has a cow-keeper at 2s. 6d. per head in 1663.⁵ Hadley⁶ had a herdsman about 1680, and there were many others. Newbury⁷ in 1675 charges non-freeholders for these privileges and others on the commons. Bounties were given generally to destroy the wolves.⁸

Hadley and the upper towns on the Connecticut had not sheep enough to herd until about the end of the century.⁹ Newbury¹⁰ instituted an elaborate system for folding sheep in 1682. The whole "lower commons"

¹ Roads, *Marblehead*, p. 29.

² *Records Town Council.*

³ *M. C. R.*, iv. 2, 367.

⁴ Caulkins, *Norwich*, p. 103.

⁵ *Bos. T. Rec.*, p. 15.

⁶ Judd, p. 110.

⁷ Coffin, p. 116.

⁸ *Mass. Arch.*, i. 33.

⁹ Judd, p. 111.

¹⁰ Coffin, p. 138.

was divided into five "ranges," or sheep-walks, each occupied by a distinct flock. One of these numbered 704 head, belonging to sixteen owners. Each owner brought a "gate" — as of old in Rowley — for every twenty sheep. In some towns the manure made in the night fold was paid for by the land owner. In Newbury each man had his turn of the benefit of folding upon his corn "successively from year to year." The flock masters paid the shepherd and boarded him.

The affairs we are considering centred about the meeting-house, whether in centre and "citadel," as houses. in Worcester, or in the rich meadows of the Connecticut and the sterile plains of Plymouth, or in sheep-walks and commons. Wherever these energetic people busied themselves, their affairs, all their concerns, put forth their highest expression in the meeting-house. They built a simple structure in the centre of the village. Bridgewater¹ in 1671 builds one in the parallelogram of the early settlers, 46 × 26 and 14 feet in the stud. Generally they are of the square type which prevailed through the century. Dorchester expended £200 in 1676 for a house 50 feet long and 45 feet wide, which lasted until 1744.² Lynn³ in 1682 moved the first one to the centre of the common, and rebuilt it, 50 × 44 ft., following the above size almost exactly. This was typical of many similar churches. There were folding doors on three sides and no porches; two semi-circular architraves over each door. The windows were in small diamond panes set in lead. Putty was not used; where the sash was of wood, the panes were nailed in.⁴ At first the floors were generally seated, or partially so. Pews were then made, some belonging to the congregation and assigned to individuals,⁵ and some built and owned personally, according to vote of the

¹ Mitchell, p. 64.

² *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 230.

³ Newhall, p. 277.

⁴ Coffin, *Newbury*, p. 70.

⁵ As in many towns. See Caulkins, *New London*, p. 143.

society. Hadley¹ had 128 seats, for males and females, paid for at 3s. 3d. each. In the Lynn case there were so many individual pews that the interior bristled with peculiarities. Large, small, square, oblong, seated on three sides or seated on one, panelled in all sizes of oak or pine, these castled Yankee notions held their ground for many years. Balustrades, with small columns of varied pattern, kept the nobility of the owner from the too close approach of the vulgar. A chair in the centre of the square pews was placed for the head of the family, or for an old gentleman or lady. One corner pew was lifted high above the stairs, almost to the ceiling, and was occupied by the blacks.

Do not imagine that this seating of the congregation, whether upon the open benches of the community or in the private pews of proprietors, meant the deposit of so much flesh and blood in an appropriate space. That would be equality; and whoever construes early New England thus will comprehend little of its essence.

Saco² in 1666 seats the people by name, according to vote of the town, in ranks numbering from one to seven. In 1669 two men were voted into the first seat, and their wives into the third. So nicely did these simple folk estimate the bounds of their property, and so accurately did they classify the stronger and the weaker vessels into these varying shades of rank! The ministers and elders watched the congregation closely, and their office was supplemented by that of the tithing-man.³ One was appointed for about ten families. These divisions were known sometimes as the "tithing-men's squadrons." They helped to catechise the people, and overlooked them in their homes. The office was no sinecure in the severe decorum prevailing. Some had long white wands, a knob

Seating by
rank and
classification.

¹ Judd, p. 51.

² Folsom, p. 134.

³ *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 251; Smith, *Newburyport*, p. 21.

at one end, a fox-tail at the other, for use in the meeting. They rapped or tickled the sleeper, according as his nerves needed the heavy thwacks or the gentle titillations of authority.

Woburn,¹ Mass., in 1672 had a committee of five to assign the seats, then another committee of two to seat the committee with their wives. They were instructed by the town to respect "estate, office, and age" in the disposition. Stamford, Conn., in 1673 votes to seat its people according to "dignity, agge and estate in this present list of estate."² But all the towns had easy work with the testy touchiness of their constituents, if compared with the greater task of Newbury. In 1669³ some were so much dissatisfied with seats assigned by the selectmen of this town that they chose for themselves. The Salem court fined two men £27 4s. for intruding on others' seats. We may see the value set upon the privilege and the sacredness of the arrangement by the amount of fine imposed for its violation. It was common to vote the young men or young women privileges to build seats for themselves in the galleries.⁴ In Newbury⁵ in 1677 the selectmen allowed several young women to build a new seat in the south corner of the gallery. This proceeding, simple enough in many places, stirred the embers of previous fires. The separation of these particular young women from their sisters of the congregation, excited the ire of certain young men. They asserted their independence by smashing the seats; for this breach of public order they were convicted and sentenced. This ferment and seething of the social order of Newbury appears to have worked itself into a gradual calm, for in 1682⁶ twenty-nine men and thirty-one women were "seated" in five new seats of the gallery.

¹ Sewall, pp. 82, 84.

² *Hist. Stamford*, p. 126, and Caulkins, *New London*, p. 132.

³ Coffin, *Newbury*, p. 81.

⁴ Sewall, *Woburn*, p. 82.

⁵ Coffin, p. 119.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

The controversy shows clearly, what is indicated by isolated facts elsewhere, that New England society in this period was working through its English traditions of rank and prestige, and settling into new codes of manners. These might be no more philosophical than the old, but they were adapted to the new nation. The first generation worked most conscientiously and carefully to keep the strong ties of rank and social prestige brought over in the persons of clergymen, squires, merchants, and men of substance. The New Englander showed no less appreciation of these social privileges in so far as they were represented by individuals and consolidated in the form of property. But mark the change he made. He believed that whatever was general, public, social, belonged to all together, and he would have his share, be he poor or rich, high or low in estate. The tendency toward fixed ranks, and anything like nobility of person, to be acknowledged and confirmed by the community, was repudiated by the mass of the citizens. There were institutions of property; no institutions of rank.

All the towns reveal this social genesis more or less; some show it in remarkable customs. One of the most curious and interesting illustrations is in Swansea. In 1667 the five persons appointed by the Court to lay out the town assumed the power of dividing the inhabitants into three ranks. Committees appointed by the town continued this, and "seem to have exercised the authority of censors, and have degraded and promoted from one rank to another at discretion."¹

We know that the distinctions were vital from the classification of the fines, so common in enforcing the public laws. In November, 1671, the first rank paid £3 12s.; the second, £2 8s.; the third, £1 4s. Many social distinctions in many places have formed, crystallised, and recorded themselves in all sorts of symbols and insignia.

A colonial code of manners.

Fixed ranks of society gradually abandoned.

¹ Baylies, *Plymouth*, ii. 245, 246.

Perhaps the frugal Plymouth men founded the cheapest order of nobility ever known. If one pound four shillings represents the value of a descending step in the grades of delinquency, how shall we estimate in money the value of the ascending prerogative?

As might have been expected from our view, the experiment proved unsatisfactory, and was discontinued the time. "after 1681." But in their view, with their experience, these legislators were trying their best endeavor for a new community. Property, virtue, and intelligence were so good that it seemed easy to extend and consolidate them into the privileges of rank. Many incidents show the testy, punctilious manners of the time, though the habits of the people were so simple. We might think that a people busy with sawmills and in clearing fields could not attend to trifling matters of decorum. But the tradition runs in Saco,¹ that about 1667 the authorities fined a man for saying that "Major Phillips's horse is as lean as an Indian dog." The major was a leading citizen. The dignity of the community hedged his sacred person; it even wrapped itself about the scrawny ribs of his worn and lean jade.

Next the meeting-house, locally and in the hearts of the settlers, was the common school. The location and definition of the Haverhill building, about 1670, for schools and for other uses of the community, was a type of the system. The house was placed on the common land, as near the meeting-house "which now is as may be."² It was to be used for schools and for a watch-house, and on Sabbath days for the entertainment, between services, of those who did not go home. It was in substance an "annex" of the meeting on its social side. There they taught reading, writing, arithmetic; in some instances, Latin and Greek, and "good manners."³

¹ Folsom, p. 162.

² Chase, *Haverhill*, p. 113.

³ Felt, *Salem*, i. 434.

But in most schools there was little progress beyond the elementary rudiments. As in the famous Pepperell family, near Kittery Point, an English grammar was preserved, to show the teaching, but the evidences are that the pupils made scant headway in such abstruse learning.¹

The frontier was moving outward, especially after Philip's war. Waterbury, Conn., had about forty houses soon after 1678,² located about the centre of the plantation. They were built of logs,—the floor of earth or of split logs,—at least 18 ft. long and 16 ft. wide and of 9 ft. stud. A good chimney gave the domestic hearth and made them comfortable. Dedham³ had 95 of the original log-houses standing near together in 1664. Their whole value was £691. Four only came to £20;⁴ the most ranged from £3 to £10. Although the sawmills were started early, their use was not universal, and the boards used in these houses were probably sawed by hand. The saw-pits left in the woods indicate lumber made by hand. Nails, glass, and other materials were scanty, and these houses were roughly constructed by farmers and laborers; there were few regular mechanics in the villages in their first settlement. The roofs in Dedham were thatched, and this covering was common until about 1691; the superiority of shingles soon displaced the ruder covering.

The better class of houses⁵ in our second period were two-storied; the upper usually jutted about one foot over the lower story. Sometimes the roof was gambrelled, and often it sloped through the upper story, making the rear line lower than the front. The most imposing had one or more gables on the front, which formed attic chambers. The frame timbers were

¹ Parsons, *Pepperell*, p. 12.

² Bronson, *Waterbury*, p. 17.

³ Worthington, p. 11.

⁴ Swan, *Stratford*, Conn., p. 15, quotes a house at £20, 1664; do. at £22 in 1674.

⁵ Felt, *Ipswich*, p. 24; Coffin, *Newbury*, 76.

heavy and of oak. The windows were two and a half to three feet long, one and a half to two feet wide. The glass was in diamond panes of three or four inches, cased in lead. These windows were sometimes whole and sometimes divided in halves, and swinging outwardly on hinges.

A common arrangement of the first floor was in a "great room" — *i. e.* company room — and a kitchen, each often twenty feet square, with a bedroom and a large milk and cheese pantry. Closets clustered around the chimney on either floor ; some of them were arranged for hiding-places.

In the house of James Richards,¹ a substantial merchant at Hartford, in 1680, there were a "parlour," hall, space (*sic*) room, and kitchen on the first floor. There was a "parlour" chamber, porch do., space do., kitchen do., little "parlour" do., and a garret chamber. Two rooms had trundle-beds, and there were no beds on the first floor.

People were much crowded in all the habitations of those days. An old MS. of 1675² gives the average size of our families as 9.02 persons. This number includes principals, children, servants, and dependents. For those groups making the larger factors of the average, the housing must have been limited in all grades of society.

Bricks were laid against the inner partition or wooden wall, and covered with clay. Boards were placed on the outside, first called "clayboards," then corrupted into clapboards.³ Lime mortar was little used, and was made of shells. Generally the inner finish was a "daubing" of clay, sometimes mixed with straw.

The first parsonage in Reading,⁴ probably a house of this type, was built in 1683 at a cost of £197.17.5. Wo-burn,⁵ in 1679, domiciled the Rev. Mr. Fox at a cost of £133. The building was 40 ft. long, 18 ft. wide, 13 ft. high, with a stack of three chimneys. Thomas Eames's,

¹ *Inven. Hartford Co. Ct. Prob. Rec.*, iii.

² *N. E. H. & G. Reg.*, xxxix. 83.

⁴ Eaton, p. 28.

³ Felt, *Ipswich*, p. 25.

⁵ Sewall, p. 89.

burned by the Indians in 1676, was valued at £100 ; size, 34 ft. long, "double floors, garret and cellar ;" barn, included in the valuation, was 52 ft. long, "leanter'd one side and two ends."

The people worshipping in these meeting-houses and living in these dwellings were generally the children of those who brought the forming energies of England to these shores. A generation has passed or is passing, and the qualities of the present one do not equal the ability of the founders. The larger powers of the Winthrops and Bradfords are replaced by the thrifty virtues of solid, plodding, shrewd men like John Hull.

The colonies rose in dignity after Philip's war. The development of commerce already indicated was attended by an increase of public spirit and a lift of the whole community. Massachusetts, whose annual budget was one "rate"¹ or a "rate and a half," spent in this affair sixteen rates, and created a heavy debt beside. Such a powerful effort in a poor — or, as Hull called it, an "orphan" — state affected all within it. These burdens borne in common, consolidated the state, and made good citizens of ordinary men and women. In such a crisis the lesser children and grandchildren took on something of the lofty communal strength of the fathers and mothers of New England.

The fathers, though powerful and sagacious, were not wise beyond their time. Their strength had wasted somewhat in trying to enforce asceticism in dress and manners. But this asceticism was not confined to the Puritans of Old or New England. Volatile Frank as well as sober Saxon was affected by this insanity. The Jesuit in Canada aimed at as severe and strict control of the manners of the people as the Calvinist sought to establish in our colonies. The asceti-

Characteristics of people.

Larger public spirit.

Asceticism gradually yields.

¹ Palfrey, *N. E.*, iii. 230.

cism of the early days was modified somewhat in the older districts in the time we are considering.

Though the Massachusetts General Court¹ admonished men against long hair and inveighed against excess in apparel in 1675, the laws in this direction were dropping into disuse in many districts. In the same year the grand jury threatened the selectmen of Dedham² with prosecution for their neglect in enforcing the sumptuary statutes. These worthy burghers did not relish the work of stripping silken hoods and ribbons from irate dames, and of arraigning the great boots of dandies. There is no record to show that they heeded the mandate of the grand jury.

The inventories in Boston show that sumptuous dress was in fashion notwithstanding the written laws against it. Robert Richbell, in 1682,³ leaves two silver-hilted rapiers and a belt worth £12. His wardrobe contained a satin coat with gold flowers, and blue breeches, £4; a stuff suit with gold buttons, a stuff suit with lace, several other suits, all accompanied by seven cravats and seven pairs of ruffles and ribbons, valued at £7. A negro man called Cooke, valued at £20, helped Robert to array himself in all this gorgeous apparel. His dainty hands were not neglected, for a diamond ring and mourning ring valued at £3 fell from their grasp. Periwigs established themselves in England at the Restoration. Richbell must have vexed poor Judge Sewall sorely, for he was the possessor of three.

There were some gold buttons, and silver ones were common enough. Captain Hudson,⁴ whose dress was modest in comparison with Richbell's, had two suits equipped with them. In a trading stock,⁵ 4 gross of "silver and gold" amount to £3.12. A curiosity of the time was "Beggars velvet," — 14 yards worth 21s.⁶ At

¹ *M. C. R.*, v. 59.

² Worthington, p. 24.

³ *Suffolk Prob. Rec.*, ix. 95.

⁴ *Suffolk Prob. Rec.*, ix. 75.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ix. 31.

⁶ *Ibid.*, xii. 337.

the other end of the social scale, a pauper's wardrobe containing sheepskin breeches, amounted in all to £2.6.6. Newbury boarded him at a cost of 3s. per week¹ in 1673.

Waitstill Winthrop, a true, solid man of Boston, finds time in his letters to discourse upon dress, and keeps his brother in Connecticut informed of the fashions in both masculine and feminine wear.² In 1684, after much

¹ Coffin, *Newbury*, p. 89.

² From MS. in Am. Ant. Soc. :—

Mr. Jonathan Corwin Debtor to William Sweatland.

	£ s d
September 29/1679. To plaiting a Gowne for M ^r	00.03.06
To makeing a Child's Coat	00.06.00
To makeing a scalett petticoat with silver lace for M ^r	00.09.00
For new makeing a plush somav for M ^r	00.06.00
December 22 th /1679. For makeing a somav for your Maide	00.10.00
March 10 th , 1679. To a yard of Callico	00.02.00
To 1 Douzen & $\frac{1}{2}$ of silver buttons	00.01.06
To thread	00.00.04
To makeing a broad cloth hatte	00.14.00
To makeing a haire Camcottcoat	00.09.00
To makeing new half sleeves to a silk Coascett	00.01.00
March 25. To altering & fitting a paire of Stayes for M ^r	00.01.06
April 2 ^d , 1680. To makeing a Gorone for y ^e Maid	00.10.00
May 20 th . For removeing buttons of y ^e coat	00.00.06
Juli 25, 1680. For makeing two hattes and Jacketts for your two sonnes	00.19.00
August 14 th . To makeing a white Scarconett plaited Gowne for M ^r	00.08.00
To makeing a black broad cloth Coat for your selfe	00.09.00
September 3, 1680. To makeing a silk laced Gowne for M ^r	01.08.00
October 7th, 1680. To makeing a Young Childs Coate	00.04.00
To facing your Owne Coat Sleeves	00.01.00
To new plaiting a petty Coat for M ^r	00.01.06
November 7 th . To makeing a black broad Cloth Gowne for M ^r	00.18.00
Feb ^r 26, 1680/1. To Searing a petty Coat for M ^r	00.06.00
Sum is	<hr/> 08.04.10

The above account reveals the style of dress in a Salem family of easy circumstances.

trouble, he buys him a belt of good leather for 30s.; it had cost 28s. in Barbadoes. "The bukles are not plate, but it may serve for the present¹ till a better be got. It is not buff, but is, I believe as fashionable."

And from these magnates of the new, we turn with melancholy interest to a potentate of the old civilisation, planning his wardrobe, partly by the fashions of these white intruders. King Philip writes from Mount Hope, in 1672, to Captain Hopestill Foster,² of Dorchester, for "five yards of White light collered serge to make me a coat and a good holland shirt, redy made; and a pr of good Indian briches, and silke & buttons & 7 yards Gallownes for trimming."

Our staid colonial society fussed and agitated itself over these little yet mighty matters of dress. As we have seen, the cosmopolitan spirit had invaded Boston and eastern Massachusetts, and had softened the administration of the early statutes. Connecticut, shrewd as well as moral, could not yield so easily. It made a new statute, in 1676³ calling in the economic power of taxation to restrain spiritual excess in wanton apparel.

"Whereas excess in apparell amongst us is unbecoming a

Dressing according to rank. wilderness condition and the profession of the gospell . . . which practices are testified against

in God's holy word . . . what persons soever shall wear gold or silver lace, or gold or silver buttons, silk ribbons or other superfluous trimmings, or any bone lace above three shil. per yard, or silk scarfes, shall be assessed at one hundred and fifty pound estate."

Then appears the curious ordering of rank and prestige we have noticed in the seating of the meeting-house. That subtle organism running through the body sociate — respected in its power, reverenced in its weakness and decay — caused the legislators to exempt the following

¹ 5 *Mass. H. C.*, viii. 449.

² *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 224.

³ *Conn. Col. Rec.*, ii. 283.

classes from the control of the ordinance. Magistrates, their wives and children and military commissioned officers, or "such whose quality and estate have been above the ordinary degree though now decayed," — these honored members of society were freed from this legislative control.

Evidently Robert Richbell, of Boston, with his seven cravats and seven pairs of ruffles and ribbons, costing a pound to the set, — high expenditure in those days, — had found imitators in the dandies and dudes of the Connecticut valley. Up the river, Massachusetts law and Connecticut custom prevailed. In 1673,¹ 25 wives and 5 maids of Springfield, Northampton, Hadley, Hatfield, Westfield, were presented as "persons of small estate who use to wear silk contrary to law." In 1676, 38 wives and maids, 30 young men, were presented, "some for wearing silk, some for long hair and other extravagancies." This procedure appears also in 1677, 1678, and some fines were imposed. By 1682 the tables were turned, and the severe supporters of the law were obliged to arraign the selectmen of the five towns before the Court for not administering the laws and prosecuting offenders, as in previous years. Silk and bone lace, or woman's persistence and masculine love of freedom, had won the day, living down the most ascetic statutes of a narrow Puritanism.

The principles of the founders of Rhode Island embodied in soul liberty, freeing the mind from administrative control over belief and worship, logically carried them beyond these experiments in sumptuary legislation. These were native to the social development of the century, and in no wise confined to New England or to the Puritan system. Roger Williams probably viewed bone lace and such furbelows with an eye no more philosophical, and in a vision no broader,

Controlled
more rigidly
in the Con-
necticut
valley.

Rhode Isl-
and more
liberal.

¹ Judd, *Hadley*, pp. 99, 100.

than that of Cotton, Hooker, Dudley, and the others. But his larger belief carried him and the men of Newport logically beyond these cavillings over buttons and ribbons. The Rhode Island settlements made no sumptuary statutes of this kind.

The wardrobe was a prominent factor in the records of all the estates. In 1680, James Richards,¹ Expenditure as shown in their estates. a merchant of Hartford, left a large property, nearly £8,000. Over £5,000 was in houses and lands, and £532.07.04 was listed in "merchandise in the shopp." His household furniture was not unlike Haynes's in the same place a generation earlier. Unfortunately his "purse and apparel of all sorts" were not separated, but were set down at £246.15. His plate and gold rings amounted to £40.16, and books £30. They inventoried the apparel of Mrs. Dorothy Talcott, of Hartford, in 16⁶⁹₇₀ at £43.13, her plate at £8.12. The clergy were the best index of the general condition of people in easy circumstances. "Mr. John Wareham,² Pastor of the Church of Christ at Windsor," died in 1670. His "apparell of all sorts" was worth £25.6.8, a fair average of the dress of gentlemen. What it lacked in variety it made up in quality probably. The whole estate was £1,204.8.6: Books prized by special experts £82.4. Dwelling, outbuildings, and land £250, other lands £197. "Another house bought of late £20." Mill and 3 acres of land £220. Four cows £16.10. "A small piece of gold an gold ring a silver cup & spoons £3.9. In pewter £9.2. In brass and copper £19.15. In Iron — pots, spits etc., £12.15." No wooden ware — such as was in most inventories — is enumerated; and no tin or glass. In furniture and furnishings £95.16.6. In "some remnants of new cloath of Home Spinning & yarn, a little silk & Thread £13.14.9."

¹ *Hartford Co. Prob. Rec.*, vol. iii.

² *Hartford Co. Prob. Rec.*, iii.

These are all the items worth noting, and they show a moderate estate well distributed and well managed. A clergy directing their personal affairs so well, were entitled to the solid influence they enjoyed.

John Hollister, a farmer of Wethersfield, Conn., left an estate of £1,642.2.6 in 1665.¹ There were two houses, with barns, orchards, etc., each valued at £200. The lands attached to one were valued at £532, to the other £300. In cattle and other stock, including 7 sheep, £137. In furniture £89. In hats and clothing £16. In brass and iron utensils, with two spits, £14. In pewter, dishes, pots and "pottingers" £10. In plate £5. "Alcaney" spoons and bellows 8s. 6d. In wampum £10. The inventories of Stratford, Conn.,² from 1650 to 1674, show no glass, one silver spoon, no china, only two shillings' worth of earthen ware. Pewter and wood were the common dishes.

John Brown, of Providence, the son of Chad and a leading citizen, leaves in 1687 a taxable estate of 15 head of cattle, 45 sheep, 3 horses, 3 hogs, 7 ac. planting land, 7 ac. pasture, 7 ac. swamp-meadow, 5 ac. bog-meadow.³

Samuel Symonds⁴ at Wells, in 1679, leaves altogether £2,103 : 6.10 : In two farms and a house in town £1,772. In other lands, 200 acres of "upland and marsh," £130. In cattle £127.10. In furniture £30.11. A bell-metal mortar and pestle 10s., a marble mortar 20s. He was a deputy governor, and his wardrobe netted £15.5, while his library was confined within the modest limits of £5.

In the settlement of Captain George Corwin or Curwin's estate at Salem in 1685,⁵ the widow received 13 silver spoons weighing 23½ oz. at £7.13.4 ; one tankard,

¹ *Hartford Co. Prob. Rec.*, April 20.

² *Swan*, p. 15.

³ *Narragansett H. R.*, iii. 321.

⁴ *Mass. C. R.*, v. 257, 259.

⁵ *Curwin MS.*, Am. Ant. Soc.

a sugar-box, porringer, and candlestick, weighing 54*g* oz., value £18.5.10. This was a wealthy estate, the specie in hand amounting to £692.7.9. There was the Turkey carpet—*i. e.* table covering—in the hall, which was so common, and in this case worth 15*s.*; and a “suit of damask,” 1 table cloth, 18 napkins, and 1 towel, worth £8. An Indian maid and a man-servant, “they fullfillinge ther Respective Indentures.” “Turkey chairs” were common; in Boston,¹ in 1681, 6 are valued at £2.10.6, serge do. £1.16, 12 leather do. £3.

The pewter outfit of John Bacon, in Boston,² was one pint and one quart pot, 4*s.*; 3 cups, 2*s.* 6*d.*; 1 candlestick, 2*s.*; 1 small basin and 3 porringers, 3*s.*; 4 small platters, 5*s.*; 5 large do., 16*s.* 6*d.*,—in all, £1.13*s.* And he had one dozen “Alchemy” spoons at 3*s.*

Restcom Sanford, at Newport, had one silver cup and one silver spoon in 1667.³

No forks appear in inventories. Wait Winthrop, writing to Fitz John in 1682, mentions a knife and fork among “several little particulars.”⁴

E. Needham, at Lynn, in 1677⁵ left £1,117. In the house, barn, outhouses, land, and “range of ston wall fencing,” was £400. In her silver watch, spoons, and other plate £15. In a striking clock and another watch and “larum that dus not strike £5.” Edmund Quincy’s estate at Braintree⁶ in 167⁴ was a little more than £2,200. Mr. Crosby’s, £1,500; Mr. Marsh’s, just above £1,200. Captain Thomas Brattle, a merchant of Boston, died in 1683; his estate was nearly £8,000, generally considered the largest of the time.⁷

I have cited inventories and equivalent records in con-

¹ *Suffolk Prob. Rec.*, ix. 63.

² *Ibid.*, ix. 135.

³ *Newport H. Mag.*, vol. iv. 121.

⁴ 5 *M. H. C.*, viii. 428.

⁵ *Essex Inst.*, ii. 235.

⁶ *Pattee*, p. 459.

⁷ *Mem. H. Bos.*, i. 580.

siderable detail, to enable the reader to construct, in his own imagination, a picture of the men and women of this period, and of the social life prevailing among them. It is easy to see that very little personal independence or distinct individuality existed. The inquisitorial spirit of administration we have observed in so many instances was still at work. The father controlled the family; the magistrate or minister controlled the father. The standard of the great Puritans — that high ideal of constant purity and personal consecration — had passed into the common every-day living of many people, producing a steady current of social life which has been the life of New England. This wholesome current, in its main flow and its largest proportions, was unnoticed and unnoticeable. Alongside this broad and mighty stream of domestic and social happiness there ran petty rills and discordant runnels, which vexed the time and soiled the records.

If we take the account of the business of the General Court in the colony of Plymouth¹ about the year 1665, we find a melancholy succession of the worst and meanest crimes. We wonder at the pettiness of judges and witnesses, at the miserable immorality of the criminals. Then the doings of the General Court of Massachusetts, and of towns in their local administration,² would indicate that governmental control was directed not so much at the substance of morality as at the formal observance of decency. The old ordinance, that a single man could not live alone,³ was kept alive. Even married people were admonished for "uncivil carriage" at night.⁴ Single women, or wives whose husbands were absent, could not entertain lodgers, on account of the "appearance of sin."⁵ The old ideas of public economy

Puritan character and social system.

Conflict.

¹ *Plymouth C. R.*, vol. iv.

² *Maine H. C.*, i. 121.

³ *Chase, Haverhill.*

⁴ *Eaton, Reading.*

⁵ *M. C. R.*, v. 4.

were not suffered to lapse. Constables were ordered in 1675¹ to inspect families and to present any which spent their time in idleness.

Sabbath observance was as rigid as ever. Vessels were not allowed to sail upon Sunday.² The public sentiment in Connecticut was so strong that Captain George Denison and Mr. Wheeler were fined 15s. for not attending public worship.³ Denison was a whole-souled man, a favorite with the people, and it must have been a test case. There were prosecutions for playing cards on Sunday, but it was hard to convict.⁴ There was a minority inclined to more latitude in living, but they were kept under; so respectable a merchant as Colonel Shrimpton of Boston being charged by Sewall with revelling.⁵

There was a class of offences showing manners tinctured with brutality, and a very harsh system for controlling them. A man is fined for beating his daughter with a flail.⁶ Another, when summoned for abusing his wife, claimed that she was his "servant and slave."⁷ In Maine and New Hampshire,⁸ the women sometimes struck their husbands,⁹ or resisted the officers in the enforcement of an unpopular statute; one girl pounded the constable with a Bible.¹⁰ And Mary Rann, contemning authority and exhibiting the conventional reverence for feminine head-coverings, in the same act, threatened that she "would pull off her head clothes, and come in her hair to them, like a parcel of pitiful beggarly curs as they were."¹¹

Casco, Maine, is so minute in controlling petty offences in 1667 as to bind a woman in £5, with security, against

¹ *M. C. R.*, v. 62.

² Caulkins, *N. Lon.*, p. 248.

³ Caulkins, *N. Lon.*, p. 252.

⁴ Bourne, *Wells & K.*, p. 678.

⁵ *M. H. C.*, v. 151.

⁶ Chase, *Haverhill*, p. 122.

⁷ Chase, *Haverhill*, p. 137.

⁸ *N. H. Prov. Pap.*, i.

⁹ *Maine H. C.*, i. 280, and Newhall, *Lynn*, p. 276.

¹⁰ *Prov. Pap. N. H.*, i. 505.

¹¹ Belknap, *N. H.*, i. 225.

practising as a "tale-bearer from house to house, setting differences between neighbours."¹

These were rough features of a life not unkindly in its general course and practices. The average people were affable and gentle in their intercourse with each other. Many customs which have died out were pleasant influences in the rather monotonous living of the people. Sewall frequently mentions going to drive a pin or nail in a new vessel, dwelling-house, or other building in which he was interested. It was a symbol of friendly interest and of social fellowship. Brides² drove pins in their future dwellings, thus projecting their fond hopes and girlish energies into the solid structures which were to support and protect their wifely lives.

A curious survival of an old Aryan custom bound the prosaic New Englanders to their Asiatic relatives. Bride-stealing has been common among many peoples, occurring first in actual fact, then in later times in symbolic customs, kept as memorials of the earlier relations of the sexes. To steal away³ the bride, and then make a feast at the groom's expense, was not uncommon in our towns.

Viewed as a whole, the social life was bare and spiritless beyond the possibility of description. Toward the latter part of our period we have Sewall's⁴ account, in minute detail, of the daily life of Boston, the centre of New England light and culture. In the heart of it was Samuel Sewall, captain in the artillery,—afterwards judge,—married to Hannah Hull, with an ample fortune, familiar with the best people and the best things of the time. He was educated for the ministry, and accomplished in such learning as they had. But the opportunities for pleasure he describes would hardly satisfy the common laborer of two centuries later.

¹ *Maine H. C.*, i. 121.

² Stiles, *Windsor*, p. 488.

³ Stiles, *Windsor*, p. 475.

⁴ 5 *Mass. H. C.*, v.

A dissection would seem to be an odd entertainment for any one not studying physiology. But the body of an Indian who had been executed in 1676 affords the needed excitement. It opens his purse, for he spent 18s. 6d. in ale, 6d. in Madeira wine, and 6d. in a fee to the maid. Dancing was too dangerous and dreadful even to be tolerated by such a pure and innocent society; it would have been almost impious to actually engage in the pastime. One Stepney, a dancing-master, had attempted to trip and caper with the youth of Boston through his perilous measures, even on "Lecture-Day."

Sewall's picture of severe decorum. "The Ministers of this Town," shocked by his audacity, went to the Court for a prohibition. Mr.

Moodey said "'t was not a time for New England to dance. Mr. Mather struck at the Root, speaking against mixt dances." The offender was bound, with Mr. Shrimpton as surety, in the sum of £50, not to keep a dancing-school.

The genial Sewall was drawn toward the merchant Shrimpton, for they went with another merchant, Peter Lidget, and Dudley, the President of the Council, to Muddy River, now Brookline, to gather chestnuts. But woe to those who exceeded the narrow bounds of propriety prescribed by the Mathers and Sewalls. Colonel Shrimpton, Lidget, and others, in 1686, came in a coach from Roxbury, from the famous Greyhound Inn probably, singing, swearing, and waking the quiet echoes of Boston streets. "Such high-handed wickedness has hardly been heard of before in Boston."

They were bound over by the Court for the offence, but the proceedings were not carried further. In the afternoon they were at a party in a vessel's cabin in the harbor, another favorite kind of entertainment, as our diarist remarks, "little concerned" by their punishment.

The outings into the suburbs, like the trip to Muddy River after chestnuts, appear on the whole to have been

the most rational enjoyments they had. But we must not infer that they took such recreation without some qualms of conscience. He carried his wife to Dorchester for cherries and raspberries, that she might enjoy the ride and the open air. While she and her hostess went to the orchard to regale themselves with the fruit, the jocund Sewall spent these playful but not idle hours in Mr. Flint's study, reading Calvin on the Psalms and similar pleasing literature. Even the home brewing of "groaning beer," in anticipation of the coming into the world of more little Sewalls, afforded interest in their monotonous life and was gravely recorded.

The rides were almost always on horseback, often with a lady upon the pillion, a decorous form of gallantry. Coaches came in gradually. He mentions a coach in 1686, and Sir William Phipps's coachman as early as 1688, and coach horses trimmed; a hackney coach appears in the same year. The great entertainment, mingling the delights of heaven with the sweets of earthly gossip, was the weekly lecture,—the "great and Thursday."

Many of the rides were to avail of these occasions in the adjoining towns. He remains over two nights on a journey to secure this treat; and coming from Lynn on lecture day, arriving too late for the service in Boston, he thus records a double grief. In any kind of duty or diversion the solid citizen did not forget his obligations to the state. The rich burgomaster trained doggedly in the ranks before the title of captain came to him by election. The judge stood watch and ward in dark nights as steadily as he administered even justice by day.

Among all the sins of his day, none vexed our gentle moralist and retired preacher more than the wearing of periwigs.¹ Christmas keeping, that anti-Christian pagan-

The "great
and Thurs-
day."

¹ Wigglesworth preached against the practice. *N. E. H. Reg.*, i. 369.

ism, could not move him so deeply. They were becoming numerous in 1685. Two communicants received into the church wore them, as Sewall records. But he labors with his friend, the public notary, who had cut off his hair and donned a wig of contrary color, rebuking him in “the words of our Saviour, Can ye make one Hair white or black ? ”¹

We get another and a different view of the same picture from a lighter hand. John Dunton,² the roving bookseller, gives his impressions of Boston and of Salem society as received during a business sojourn of some eight months. He spent his days with traders, book-buyers, — for he opened his “venture” to the general public, — the better people at inns, and in such circles as were opened to a pleasing and accomplished stranger. Andros’s coming with a court party at his heels, extended commerce, frequent intercourse with the West Indies, all had brought into the seaboard towns a more cosmopolitan population. Our bookseller’s acquaintance was largely in this new element, as distinguished from the “New England men” Sewall mentions so frequently and so fondly. His account is much more cheery than Sewall’s. It probably renders the life of the grade of society just below the upper rank. Not so much is said of the clergy, and the other prominent persons thronging through Sewall’s pages. Certainly Dunton was not excluded from converse with the best people; he speaks enthusiastically of Sewall’s brother, the chief mag-

¹ These brief hints render a faint outline of the virtuous and dutiful but dull and dreary life of our forefathers in the waning days of the seventeenth century. Perhaps the actual scene was not as sombre as the stern candor and tender conscience of our diarist would make it. He saw himself at his worst, and small lapses from the awful standard of decorum were sins indeed to a fancy roused by constant introspection, and to an imagination quickened by the immanence of an eternal world.

² *Life and Errors*, pp. 93-137.

A more
lively ac-
count.

istrate of Salem : " He lives an example to the people ; he is the mirror of hospitality ; and neither Abraham nor Lot were ever more kind to strangers."

Dunton is not a strict reporter ; his literary fancy broadens his brush too much for realism. His characters have sometimes the mien and air of types and ideals. All have not the solid muscularity of Sewall's ready sketches roughed out in strong black and white. But there are realistic features enough to make a picture of actual life. His fancy is freest when he depicts the conventional widow of romance and of story. " Madam Brick was the Flower of Boston," but when he transported her upon his saddle crupper he found her no more than "*a beautiful sort of luggage.*" She, the "beautiful and religious," transported her cavalier even more. Wrapped in the ethereal clouds of their own discourse, the rider lost his head and his way "among bogs and encompassed with desperate precipices." These adverse circumstances only heightened the zest of such sweet companionship with a lithesome widow on horseback. "This Lady had more charms than ever Calypso wore when she kept Ulysses Prisoner in the chains of Love ; and I should certainly have fooled away my liberty had not Iris been possessed of my whole soul."

This is the high-flown fancy of any gallant chronicler. But in the description¹ of the Boston old maid — which

¹ John Dunton, *Life and Errors*, p. 102, 103 : 1686.

"It is true, an *old* (or superannuated) Maid in Boston is thought such a curse, as nothing can exceed it (and looked on as a *dismal spectacle*) ; yet she, by her good-nature, gravity, and strict virtue, convinces all (so much as the fleering Beaus) that it is not her necessity, but her choice, that keeps her a Virgin. She is now about thirty years (the age which they call a *Thornback*), yet she never disguises herself, and talks as little as she thinks of Love. She never reads any Plays or Romances, goes to no Balls, or Dancing-match, as they do who go (to such Fairs) in order to meet with Chapmen. Her looks, her speech, her whole behaviour, are so very chaste, that but

must be taken entire if we would comprehend its truthfulness and its characteristic revelation of the time The Boston maiden. — the gay traveller records what he saw. Evidently he had not seen before any creature like this simple New England woman. Duty and gladness, virtue and gayety, mingled and became one in the serene calm of this maiden's soul. Such serenity of spirit was foreign to the Calypsos, or to society widows, from Chaucer's time onward. It has become a type and an ideal to us; repeated from generation to generation in our social development, — circumstances changed, features altered, but spirit and temperament always the same: this feminine embodiment of solid New England lives on, her time the constant anteroom of eternity.

A veritable creature in flesh and blood was Mrs. Hicks, whose only "venture" — the word is used commercially — was in her own beautiful person. She came over in a vessel from England, unattended apparently, and at once brought to her feet and to the altar a merchant of Salem, reputed to be worth £30,000. Our informant thinks the

once (at Governor's Island, where we went to be merry at roasting a hog) going to kiss her, I thought she would have blushed to death.

"Our *Damsel* knowing this, her conversation is generally amongst the Women (as there is least danger from that sex), so that I found it no easy matter to enjoy her company, for most of her time (save what was taken up in needle-work and learning French, &c.) was spent in Religious Worship. She knew Time was a dressing-room for Eternity, and therefore reserves most of her hours for better uses than those of the Comb, the Toilet, and the Glass.

"And I am sure this is most agreeable to the *Virgin modesty*, which should make Marriage an act rather of their obedience than their choice. And they that think their Friends too *slowpaced* in the matter give certain proof that lust is the sole motive. But, as the *Damsel* I have been describing would neither anticipate nor contradict the will of her Parents, so, I do assure you, she is against *forcing* her own, by marrying where she cannot love; and that is the reason she is still a *Virgin*."

West Indies and our colonies a great market for "pretty women." "Virtue alone will not do. I confess Virtue is the best commodity; yet Beauty in this market yields the highest price." Mrs. Hicks united these outward and inward charms.

Our narrator does not omit his idea of the best woman of them all,—the wife and mother. Mrs. Steward had a round and pretty face, with gentle manners; kept her house well, her only pride to be neat and orderly. His enthusiasm lifts his narrative into poetic expression when he describes her obedience to her lord and literal master. "The Hyacinth follows not the Sun more willingly than she her Husband's pleasure." Men and women are the same, times and customs change.

Dunton's representation of life at the inns—those old-time abodes of individual repose, and of gentle social jollity—is quite fascinating. Here the ^{The jolly} _{inns.} good fellows went in and out, while Madeira and Port flowed generously. Sewall the pious and Shrimpton the ungodly man met on equal terms in these places, the abstracts and brief compendiums of the time. George Monk, of the famous "Blue Anchor," was a landlord out of a thousand; "So remarkable" that a stranger not acquainted with him could hardly convince any New England man that he had been in Boston. He entered into and possessed his guests so that it was "almost impossible not to be cheerful in his company."

The guests clustered around this delightful Boniface, whether in the taproom or at the salmon suppers, turkey roasts, and other feasts common to his vocation. Mr. Mortimer, from Ireland, an "accomplished Merchant," was very modest in his demeanor, but could answer the most abstruse questions in "Algebra, Navigation, Dialling, &c." Mr. Watson, formerly a London merchant, had left the subtle intricacies of the exchange for a Westminster Hall training at the law. These quirks he fully

mastered, and became successful in handling causes. Mr. Gouge, the linen-draper, another transferred Londoner, was a wit and smart jester, a bachelor and man about town, with morals like his kind in all ages. He always told the truth severely, "a practice so uncommon in New England" that our historian valued him highly.

Dunton makes other assertions of this sort. They seem to be hardly sustained by the facts we know. He was an itinerant trader, who stands next to the pedlar in public estimation. He was trading with the forerunners of the shrewd Yankees. His hand was against every man, and it is altogether probable that the hands of many men were against him. His testimony must be weighed cautiously. It does not comport with the known qualities of our ancestors that they should have been habitual liars. It was the system of long credits and slow payments, aggravated by a bad currency, which occasioned Dunton's ethical criticisms, probably. John Hull found difficulties of the same kind in dealing with his debtors.

Dunton speaks of Dr. Bullivant, the apothecary, one of Andros's followers, who was made a "Justice" or "Attorney General." The bookseller calls him a "Gentleman and a Physician," and the people of Northampton "find him a universal scholar."

This account reveals a people reasonably intelligent ^{Standards of intelligence.} for the period in which they lived. There were thirteen booksellers in Boston during his visit, or about that time. It must have been a fair market for their merchandise. He had £500 due for previous sales when he came, and he brought more than £500 in addition. Salem took what Boston neglected in his "venture." He complains of the exchange, which was 30 per cent.¹ against him. John Usher was engaged in foreign commerce, but our chronicler says that he "got his estate by book-selling." A very significant indication of the market and

¹ J. Dunton, *Life and Errors*, p. 112.

of the importance of this particular trade is in the high professional quality of the book-traders. He mentions several; among them Brunning, an immigrant from Holland, who "may well be styled a complete Bookseller." He says that the selection he imported was "practical, and well suited to the genius of New England." The character of the books then in demand must have affected the next generation.

These glimpses of records setting forth personal estates, and these citations from contemporary observers,
Social conditions at this period. show us the condition of the individual man and woman, and the social development they created and in which they moved. Arable lands, cattle, family shelter, must be provided first. The wants of a settler being appeased, the wants of a dweller in a community developed pretty rapidly. In town or village we find similar customs. People thought much of their persons; they adorned themselves with fair apparel in proportion to their means. The amounts expended on wardrobes were larger than the present generation would expect, when considered in relation to the furnishings and comforts of the houses. These facts suggest thoughts belonging properly to the next topic of this period, which is the industrial condition of this society in the department of manufacture and production.

Manufactures hardly developed in the second half of the century in the proportion we might expect from the great efforts of the settlers in introducing them. The founders planned enterprises in all directions, and our record from 1640 to 1650 shows no lack of skilled mechanics to work out these undertakings. But the one great industry we have emphasised swallowed almost all others. Fishing to load ships, and shipbuilding to carry cured fish, absorbed the energies of the growing population after the flood of European immigration ceased. The better and cheaper the colonists built and sailed their

vessels the less could they extend other forms of industry. These cheap vessels and cargoes brought textiles and other manufactured goods from the cheapest markets every and anywhere.

It was not without reflection that I named the nascent industries "homespun" in an earlier chapter. They arose around the home, and they never went far beyond it. The chief business of the planters, in forming the political and social community I have sketched, was to make homes, and they made them. Never had there been so much comfort diffused in any society. The observer or observers, about 1673, known as "The Curious,"¹ reported that Boston — then containing from 2,000 to 2,500 houses — had not twenty with more than ten rooms. But on the other hand, "the worst cottages in New England are lofted." There were no beggars, and not more than three persons put to death annually for theft, — a marvellously small criminal docket for those days. To be a freeholder and a citizen was the object of social emulation. They worked, planted, fished, and subdued the soil. They had plenty for simple living within the homestead, but little to dissipate beyond its snug boundaries. The sumptuary laws and inventories already cited show that public sentiment ran strongly against excessive expenditure.

To begin with the industries nearest the hearth and home, we find nothing beyond these growing out ^{Homespun.} of the spinning by classes, spinning on a reel,² etc., which the General Court of Massachusetts took such pains to foster about 1656. These movements helped to make spinners at home, but went no further. There might be exceptions, as where John Wareing, of Salem, was loaned £5 of public funds to pay his spinners.³ The yarn was essentially a home product. In weaving homespun, there was a tendency toward a division of industry.

¹ *1 Mass. H. C.*, 3, p. 216.

² A distaff.

³ Felt, *An. Salem*, ii. 159.

Most families had looms of their own, yet the weaving was not confined to households. As early as 1669, in Samuel Phelps's inventory¹ at Windsor, there appears "yarne at the weaver's." Robert Sandford, in 1676, had "a peice of cloath at Weavers & one at home."² In 1684, Gabriel Harris, at New London,³ left "four looms and tacklings : a silk loom." He was not a wealthy man ; his homestead included "a new house, orchard, cider mill and smith's shop," valued altogether at £200 ; his whole estate was about £800. He had one Indian maid-servant, valued at £15, and his wardrobe was quite moderate. We may infer that much of his business consisted in weaving custom work on these five looms. He must have employed hired laborers or his six children in the work. The fact of the silk loom evinces especial skill in the art.

According to the statement of William Harris, of Rhode Island, in 1675, respectable authority preserved in the British Colonial State Papers,⁴ the New Englanders exported wool to France for linen, and to Spain or Portugal for wines, etc. He also said "they had many wool-combers, and spun their wool very fine, of which some made tammies, but for their own private use."

This exportation does not appear in the outward invoices, of which we have many records. But it attracted the notice of the General Court of Massachusetts, and was prohibited in 1675. Sheep⁵ had been lowered in rates of taxation from 10s. to 5s. per head in 1673. We find an occasional trace of combers or combs. Hand-cards are frequent in the inventories and in stocks of merchandise. About 1685 or later, Joseph Williams, the son of Roger, entered in an account-book⁶ now extant a credit to "Sarah badkuk (Babcock) for weven

¹ *Hartford Co. Prob. Rec.*

² *Ibid.*, June 19th.

³ Caulkins, p. 273.

⁴ Cited by Palfrey, note, iii. 304.

⁵ *M. C. R.*, iv. 2, 564.

⁶ Rider, *Book Notes*, ii. 7.

and coaming wisted." In 1662 Christopher Woolcot, at Hartford, inventories hemp combed and uncombed.¹ In a Boston domestic inventory² of 1671 we have 32 lbs. yarn, £4 5s. 4d.; and 28 lbs. worsted, £7 13s. 3d. The difference in values shows the higher cost of combed work. There is a wheel and spindles in the inventory, but no combs. The tammy or taminy mentioned by Harris was a light worsted fabric, probably used for dresses. Worsted was much more valuable than woollen yarn. In 1671³ we have a valuation at about 66d., while the woollen was 32d. per lb. Much of the home manufacture was linsey-woolsey, made with linen warp and wool weft or filling. It is valued at 9d. per yard in 1693.⁴ "Homespun" of wool for men's wear was spun and woven at home, and finished in the fulling-mills established in many of the towns from an early date. Homespun garments, as such, are seldom inventoried. Probably the unnamed "doublets," "jackets," etc., were often of this material, not rising to the dignity of an especial record. A piece of homespun is valued at 3s. 6d. in 1681,⁵ justifying the statement of "The Curious" in 1675, that there is no cloth made worth 4s., and no linen above 2s. 6d. per yard.⁶ Experienced clothiers came from England as they were wanted. Fulling-mills were steadily established to dress the homespun cloth. We note them at Watertown,⁷ in 1662; at Andover,⁸ in 1673; also through the Ballards in 1689,⁹ at Ipswich in 1675, at Salem¹⁰ 1675. Barnstable¹¹ gets one in 1687; and Peter Cheney¹² competes with John Pearson, already established in Newbury.

¹ *Hartford Probate Records.*

² *Suffolk Prob. Rec.*, vii. 113.

³ *Suffolk Prob. Rec.*, vii. 113.

⁴ *Suffolk Prob. Rec.*, xiii. 180.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ix. 81.

⁶ *1 M. H. C.*, iii., iv. p. 216.

⁷ Bond, ii. 1039.

⁸ Bailey, pp. 35, 80.

⁹ Felt, p. 96.

¹⁰ Felt, *Salem*, ii. 168.

¹¹ Freeman, *Cape Cod*, p. 277.

¹² Coffin, *Newbury*, p. 147.

There is a great variety of imported, or as they were generally called "English," goods in the wardrobes, and inventoried in traders' stocks. Broadcloth, and kersey, sometimes called cotton, lockorum, duffels, dowlas, taffety, serge, "flannen," frieze, linen, calico, dimity, "a la mode," and silk prunella. Stockings are of worsted and woolen yarn, of thread, and occasionally of silk; 18 dozen "Cloth" stockings¹ are sold in 1675 for £14 8s.

Next in importance to cloth should have been the manufacture of iron, begun among the first industries. We do not find that it increased in this period: in fact, it hardly kept the ground gained at first, although the crown commissioners report in 1665 a "good store of iron" made in Massachusetts.² The indefatigable John Winthrop, the younger, in company with Stephen Goodyear, set up a bloomery and forge at New Haven³ in 1665. The colony fostered the attempt by freeing it from taxes for seven years from 1669.⁴ But it did not succeed finally.

The works at Lynn⁵ were said to be in vigorous operation in 1671, furnishing much of the iron used in Massachusetts. The lands and privilege at Braintree⁶ changed hands in 1682. The purchaser, Mr. Hubbard, of Boston, built a sawmill, furnace, and forge. He contracted for iron ore mined at Nahant for 3s. per ton. For shipbuilding and other uses requiring the best material, Spanish bar iron was used generally; Swedish appears but rarely. The former was valued at $2\frac{4}{10}d.$ per lb. in Boston⁷ in 1683, and the latter at $2\frac{16}{100}$.

Our old friend Joseph, Jenks, petitions the Court⁸ in 1667, being "an old man and not very rich," for the use of a room and funds to make wire. He states that it is

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, cxix. 42.

² *Doc. Col. N. Y.*, iii. 113.

³ Atwater, p. 224.

⁴ *Conn. C. R.*, ii. 108.

⁵ Newhall, p. 259.

⁶ Pattee, p. 462.

⁷ *Suffolk Prob. Rec.*, ix. 156

⁸ *M. Arch.*, lix. 88.

necessary for making wool-cards and hooks for fishing. The Court refused, having declined a similar request from Nathaniel Robbinson the previous year. It voted,¹ however, to expend £15 for a set of wire-drawing tools, directing the Treasurer to dispose of them to further the business, and to pay forty shillings to any who might make cards and pins of the wire.

Leather was of prime necessity both in dress and in the arts. Tanneries were started soon after the settlement of each community, either by men of that vocation or by the larger farmers for their own convenience. Connecticut especially watched in her legislation the manufacture and export of hides and leather. In 1676 she prescribed for shoemakers "five pence halfe penny a size for all playne and wooden heeld shoes, for all sizes above the men's sevens, three soled shoes well made and wrought, nor above seven pence halfe penny a size for well wrought French falls."² Wooden heels held their ground through the eighteenth century. Lynn, Mass., was a centre of the manufacture at this early date, but it was prosecuted on a very small scale. Here they made the women's shoes of neat's leather or woollen cloth; a bride's wardrobe contained one pair of white silk, preserved as an heirloom. About 1670³ they began to cut shoes for both sexes with broad straps and buckles. The Carolinas furnished some of the raw material. In 1682 the inventory of James Everell, a Boston shoemaker, gives 43 sides of "Roanoke leather" at £8.12. He had 34 pairs of shoes at £5.11, and five seats, "two of them with working gear."⁴ This was a fair sample of the business, probably.

Household utensils. In household utensils pewter dishes hold the chief place, and they were manufactured here generally. Brass, iron, and wooden vessels were used, but

¹ *M. C. R.*, vi. 348, 351.

² *Conn. C. R.* 1676, p. 325.

³ Newhall, *Lynn*, p. 90.

⁴ *Suffolk P. R.*, ix. 113.

pewter was the common ware, like the delft and porcelain of later days. The inventory¹ of a well-known brazier of Boston shows these vessels in all stages of manufacture. There were 2,782 lbs. pewter dishes and basins, valued at £235.11.04. Then there were "alchemy spoons," — much used, — "spooning pewter," tankards, milk-cans, warming-pans, kettles, skillets, frying-pans, cowbells, and bellows.

Protection for industry in the modern sense had not been discovered, but artisans sought the equivalent results through the guild privileges and regulations which were so common. The hatters² asked for more privilege in 1672, but the Court refused, until they should make hats as good and as cheap as the imported. Raccoon skins were forbidden export, and reserved for this manufacture in 1675.³

Gunpowder was constantly and earnestly desired by a people not aggressive, but surrounded by enemies, and dreading the French onset with the Indian warwhoop at any moment. Attempts to manufacture were made in 1666, 1672, and finally succeeded at Dorchester in 1675, under the conduct of an English expert, William Everden, or Everenden.⁴ Randolph claimed that the article was as "good and strong" as the best English powder. He mentions the roosts of wild pigeons, and the islands frequented by fowl, as containing ready deposits of saltpetre. The "conscienceable" fathers, appointed by the Court in the first generation to watch the henroosts for this valuable saltpetre, appear to have ceased their functions.

The manufacture of bricks was carefully regulated;⁵

¹ *Suffolk P. R.*, v. 22.

² Felt, *An. Salem*, ii. 170.

³ *M. C. R.*, v. 28.

⁴ *Mass. Arch.*, lix. 87, 124; *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 608.

⁵ *Mass. Arch.*, lix. 142; *Bos. T. Rec.*, p. 133.

rape oil,¹ rosin² and tar,³ rope-making,⁴ are all mentioned. Gristmills and sawmills⁵ began with the new settlements and increased in the older ones. In western Massachusetts domestic bolting-mills were used. A frame with ten or twelve yards of narrow bolting-cloth served for the purpose. A baker in 1680 left one valued at 60 shillings, and his widow bolted flour for her neighbors.⁶

Trade with the aboriginal inhabitants diminished with the extension and improvement of the settlements. It was regulated⁷ by several acts and controlled by licenses. Grants to sell arms and ammunition were issued and revoked rather capriciously. After the war of 1676, many captives were enslaved, and Indians in general were treated more harshly.

Before we turn to the more important coastwise voyaging and the internal communications, we may note that the passage of a woman, from Boston to England in 1689 cost £5.⁸

The coastwise communications by water were improving constantly with the growth of trade and the increase of vessels. Scituate, Mass.,⁹ in 1670 had two regular packets to Boston, and trips "almost daily" are recorded. Larger towns, like Salem and Portsmouth, had many boats plying to Boston, and I have alluded to the frequent intercourse with Connecticut. All the maritime places had nimble trading shallops flitting about the coast. But the land transport was not so progressive.

Roads and ferries. There was not the activity in opening and pushing new roads along the main lines of settlement we noted from 1650-1660.

The "great Eastern" road was improved by a new way in Newbury about 1663.¹⁰ It was said that in winter as

¹ *Conn. C. R.*, ii. 255.

² *M. Arch.*, lix. 121.

³ *2 M. H. C.*, iii. 187.

⁴ *Bos. T. Rec.*, p. 16.

⁵ For a good list in Maine in 1682, with values, see *Maine H. C.*, i. 179.

⁶ Judd, *Hadley*, p. 48.

⁷ *M. Arch.*, cxix. 27; *M. C. R.*, v. 80.

⁸ *An. King's Chapel*.

⁹ Deane, p. 27.

¹⁰ Felt, *An. Salem*, i. 314.

many as 20 horsemen, with foot passengers in proportion, with droves of 20 or 30 head of cattle, would cross the bridge in one day. Thurlow's Bridge, in Rowley, was freed from tolls.¹ The eastern thoroughfare made its way as far as Cape Porpoise, in Maine, by 1664. A ferry² is established then over Little River. It was improved in 1687,³ and it is stated there were no carriages in 1674. In the opposite direction, a ferry is started at Mystic River,⁴ in Connecticut, where "Goodman Burrose" carries over man and horse for a groat. Roxbury improves its way to Braintree, Chelmsford and Lancaster⁵ to Groton, Lancaster to Hadley, Haverhill⁶ to Topsfield; the Merrimac⁷ is bridged at Amesbury; Framingham mentions a road to a horse-bridge in 1674; the "Bay Road," from western Massachusetts eastward, is mentioned in Hadley in 1674. These are mere instances of the slowly spreading system of roads. We can hardly comprehend how slow travel was on all the by-roads connecting the towns which were off the main thoroughfares. Along the Connecticut River in Hadley, there was a road as early as 1673. But the available traffic in this district was by water. William and John Pynchon had boats of three or four tons, called canoes, each managed by two men. Grain was carried from Hadley to Hartford for 4*d.* to 6*d.* per bu.; goods returned at 12*s.* per ton. Barrels of pork or flour went to Hartford for 3*s.* 6*d.* or 4*s.*, thence to Boston for about 3*s.*⁸

New London⁹ connected itself with Norwich in 1670, but the road was little better than an Indian trail for more than a century. We forget that pack-horses af-

¹ *Hist. Rowley*, p. 463.

² Bourne, *Wells and K.*, p. 91.

³ Folsom, *Saco and Biddeford*, p. 176.

⁴ Caulkins, *N. Lon.*, p. 137.

⁵ Judd, *Hadley*, pp. 44, 45; *Lancaster Rec.*, p. 96.

⁶ Chase, p. 110.

⁷ *M. C. R.*, iv. 2, 276.

⁸ Judd, *Hadley*, p. 101.

⁹ Caulkins, *Norwich*, p. 529.

forsaken most of the inland transport in Europe. There were six stages in Great Britain in 1672, it is said, against which one Cresset felt himself moved to publish a pamphlet, as they encouraged too much travel.¹

Civilisation moves forward with an occasional swing backward. Among the curiosities of vibrating progress was the action of the town of Boston in 1669. That enterprising community had convinced itself that it could not afford the wear and tear of pavement caused by iron tires. It enacted that all carts "within ye necke of Boston shall be & goe without shod wheeles," after one year's notice. There was another meeting to consider the same matter.² Boston had its first coach in 1669.³ In 1680 "one horse cart & wheels, with other horse tackling," was inventoried at £2.15 in Providence.

Cart-bridges⁴ are sometimes mentioned as early as 1669.⁵ Generally the early bridges in the country towns were specified as "horse bridges," with a railing on one side. After Philip's war, cart bridges⁶ are mentioned more frequently. At Barstow's, in Scituate, one is built by the three towns at a cost of £20. This was in 1682. Bristol built one in the year 1684. Cambridge is allowed £10, country pay, toward a bridge.⁷ The road from Boston to Connecticut was changed in its course to avoid several crossings over one deep river in 1682.⁸ A new "Bay Road" was laid out about 1690.⁹ In 1686 New Haven¹⁰ and Waterbury were connected by a road. An interesting custom of assigning lots of land to individuals, for the support of highway gates, in Connecticut, should be noted.¹¹

¹ *N. H. H. C.*, vi. 243.

² *Bos. Town Rec.*, pp. 53, 197.

³ *Mem. H. Bos.*, ii. 510.

⁴ *Judd, Hadley*, p. 45.

⁵ Butler, *Groton*, p. 28.

⁶ Deane, *Scituate*, p. 15; Munroe, *Bristol, R. I.*, p. 116.

⁷ *M. C. R.*, v. 459.

⁸ *Mass. Arch.*, cxxi. 61.

⁹ Judd, *Hadley*, p. 46.

¹⁰ Bronson, *Waterbury*, p. 94.

¹¹ *Hist. Stamford*, p. 437.

It has been generally considered that the number of inns was large for the population and for the exigencies of travel in the colonial life of the seventeenth century. But the social opportunities of the citizens outside the meeting-house were very limited. Valuable information as well as news and gossip came through travellers, and rarely in any other way. The inn gave its owner ^{The host's advantage.} or keeper a position of vantage in acquiring ready knowledge of passing events. The place carried with it influence and consideration, and the proprietors profited accordingly. Sometimes they were town officials by virtue of their occupation.¹ They could raise a large portion of the produce the inn consumed, and thus make their own markets. The ingle of the tavern was a centre of political and social activity when the mugs of flip and cider went round.

Not overmuch freedom was allowed the citizen when he strayed into the friendly tavern to enjoy his ease. The severe constraint of Puritan decorum seldom relaxed its pressure. In 1664 the Massachusetts General Court finds time to enact that there shall be no rude singing in taverns or alehouses.² In 1677 they step in to regulate prices again. Beer brewed with three bushels of malt to the barrel must be sold at threepence the quart; another bushel of malt adds another penny.³ Constant inspection⁴ is maintained through the grand jury, the tithing-men, and the constables.⁵ The outfit of an inn at Newbury⁶ in 1668 was £500. We may note the establishment of inns or ordinaries at Gloucester⁷ in 1666, at Hadley⁸ in 1667, Hanover⁹ in 1672, at Woburn¹⁰ in 1675, at Falmouth¹¹ in 1681, at Lancaster¹² in 1685.

¹ Caulkins, *Norwich*, p. 100.

² *M. C. R.*, iv. 2, 100.

³ *M. C. R.*, v. 135.

⁴ Felt, *Ipswich*, p. 112.

⁵ *M. C. R.*, 448, 487.

⁶ Coffin, pp. 70, 71.

⁷ Babson, p. 91.

⁸ Judd, p. 71.

⁸ Barry, p. 18.

¹⁰ Sewall, p. 60.

¹¹ *Maine H. C.*, i. 172.

¹² *Lancas. Rec.*, p. 328.

When the “perambulators” ran out the lines between the towns, following the time-honored Aryan custom, generally rum, sometimes cider, was furnished them at the ordinaries.¹ The “boundsgoers” moistened their dry throats at the public expense.

No traveller in any period should read of the seventeenth century without a generous tribute to the memory of George Monek, of the Blue Anchor Tavern, Boston. John Dunton said it was “almost impossible” “not to be merry in his company.” Our grand hotels, worked by steam and charged with electricity, have banished the old landlord, and involved the guest in mighty meshes of complex, impracticable comforts. Who does not regret the day of personality, the living presence of the host, hospitable and warm-hearted — his portly form, with good capon lined, the best sign ; his voice the best welcome ; his laugh and jest a true solace for the most forlorn wanderer ?

I have alluded more than once to the method of trade and commerce, both foreign and domestic, as a virtual barter of commodities. The same system prevailed in the West Indies in 1672, though they had plenty of Spanish and English coin. “As to Coyns they are not much made use of in Trade, their way being bartering of one *commodity* for another.”² In comparison with the system prevailing two centuries later, the trade of this period was an accelerated traffic. The modern fluidity of buying and selling, the movement through quick prices in ready money, was wanting in large as well as small transactions. Merchandise was present in negotiation, not only symbolised as in a money or currency, but in actual bulk and weight. Men bartered peltry, wampum, or corn in terms of money. Taxes were levied, not in solid coin or its paper representatives, but in farm

¹ Stiles, *Windsor*, p. 61.

² Blome, *Description of Jamaica*, etc., Carter-Brown Lib., p. 9.

produce, "country pay." Cattle walked into the public treasury; if fat, they gave currency to property and wealth; if lean, they walked out again, repudiated by the wary tax-collector, because their spare shanks gave too much movement and too little solid value to this peripatetic currency of the public wealth. One of the pinching wants of the time was not only for quicker capital and more money, but for a better currency of that which they had. They knew the relative power of cash. Hull says money in hand brings a "better pennworth & bett'r wares." The Massachusetts mint had not fulfilled the expectations of its creators. It had made money, but had not kept it.¹

¹ We may comprehend better the difficulties both of keeping money in currency and of settling balances of exchange, by citing a few actual transactions of the time. Some exchange was obtained through supply of the royal squadrons in the Western seas. John Hull is victualling a frigate in 1666. His quarter part of the bill amounted to £110. *Diaries*, p. 156.

But a leading merchant like Hull was forced into petty dealings in plate and coin to settle balances due in London, as we see in the following letters. The letter of credit for Stoughton and Bulkley is interesting from other points of view.

From MS. Letter Book of John Hull, Am. Ant. Soc. 4th 11 74.

A LETT^R TO M^R. JOHN PEAKE BY CAPT. SPRAGUE.

SIR :— I Reed yo^r lett^r of August the 4th & the two bailes you sent by M^r. Smith. I hope you have reed mine by M^r. Longe with two lb^s of Endigo. Sir I hoped before M^r. Sprague would have gone away, wee should have seen M^r. Foster, M^r. wally is arrived but I have noe lett^r from you but wee feare M^r. foster may bee put to the indies, Sir I have by M^r. sprague sent you a parcell of Ing-lish gold & alsoe some spanish which I would intreate you to make the most of it for mee & give my Acc^o credit ther is as followeth :

nine 22 ^s p ^c which cost mee here 27 ^s p ^c	£12	3	0
two 20 ^s which cost mee 25 ^s	2	10	0
twelve ginnies which cost me 23 ^s	13	16	0
& some other as a 10 ^s a 5 ^s 6 ^d &c.	2	00	0
Spanish gold ther is 3 Doubloons & nine pistols q ^t Foure & $\frac{1}{2}$ att 4s. p ^r D.	18	00	0
Alsoe in English silver twelve pound	12	00	0
		£60	9

The difficulty was English as well as colonial. In the crude finance of the older country, the export of coin and the gold is in a little bagg within the silver the outward bagg is marked I. H. for M^r. John peake pray Sir inquire of M^r. Rich^d Sprague master of the shipp samson for it though you need not tell him of any gold but only to receive the little bagg of money soe marked which hee had of mee for you & Sir by the s^d M^r sprague if you please to sende mee six steele blew Dutch Duffalls two white Duffalls two striped ditto & 4 p^s of just y^rd broade Red Cottons, one p^s of halfe thicke sad Collo^r kersey a little flannell, I ad noe (noe) more but my Humble service to yo^r Honno^rd Father & y^t I am S^r y^r frend & serv^t

J. HULL.

LETTER OF CREDIT.

M^r Tho. Papillon, Sir, if W^m Stoughton Esq., and M^r Peter Bulkly, or either of y^m (who are messengers for y^e Country) come unto you wth this my Letter of Credit, I entreat you to pleasure them, or either of them, as their Need shall call for it, if it be to y^e value of three hund. pounds, cur. Money of Eng^l for ye service of this Country. I oblige hereby to repay it, both Principall and Interest, who am Sir,

your friend & servant

J. HULL.

In 1685. From Curwin Papers, MS., Am. Ant. Soc.

WIDDOW & 2 CHILD : D^r.

	£ s d	13 silver spoones w ^a 23 ^b
313 oz. plate at 6.8 ^d per	104 06 08	
35 ¹ / ₂ oz. gold at 5 ^b	175 12 06	
In England w th the Advance	022 13 00	
5 oz. $\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{16}$ plate at 6.8 ^d per	001 15 05	
New England money 23 ^b	23 00 00	
A case of Chyrurgions Instruments	05 00 00	
	<hr/> 332 07 07	
1 Tankerd		
1 sugar box		
1 poringer		
1 candlestick		
		w ^a 54 ^b oz.
y ^e spoones is	£7 13 4	
y ^e 4 p ^s plate	18 5 10	
	<hr/> 25 19 02	

WIDDOW MARGARET CORWIN D^r.

	£ s d
88 oz. $\frac{1}{4}$ plate at 6.8 ^d oz..	29 08 08
money 100 ^b	100 00 00
tt 7 oz. Sp. Gold at 5 ^b	35 00 00
tt 5 oz. $\frac{1}{2}$ Engl. Gold at 5 ^b	27 10 00
tt part of the Gold Ring	00 03 02
tt Engl. money 5 ^b is	06 00 00
tt 35 oz. $\frac{3}{4}$ plate peices $\frac{5}{8}$ at 6.8 ^d	<hr/> 11 18 04
	210 00 00

bullion had been forbidden until 1663.¹ The correspondence of John Winthrop, the younger, with his friends in the Royal Society — the most active intellects of their time — reveals a constant and anxious search after a better means of enlarging the functions of capital. They desired to invent something like the modern system of credit. England was relatively behind the continent in the facilities for trade in the middle of the century. The Lombard bankers had brought their methods into London, but Holland was far ahead in commercial means and enterprise. Amsterdam was then the centre of financial activity. The old bank idea of southern Europe had become, in the hands of those energetic Dutchmen, something beyond a mere reservoir of money or a bench for the brokers. The creation of credit and the mighty flow of exchange had begun to animate the commerce of the Northern seas, and was felt among the Britons, — “a people apt to create more difficulties than God and nature hath made them.”²

John Winthrop, the younger, must be considered to be the founder of the paper currency of America. However much this vehicle of industry and production has been abused, no greater good or more powerful means of civilisation was ever

J. Winthrop,
the younger,
conceives of
paper
money.

WM. BROWNE JUN^E D^E.

	£	s	d
tt 49 oz. $\frac{1}{2}$ plate at 6.8 ^d	16	10	10
tt 6 oz. $\frac{1}{2}$ Sp. Gold } at 5 ^b	50	00	00
tt 3 oz. $\frac{1}{2}$ Engl. Gold }	00	03	02
tt pt. of the Gold Ring	06	00	00
tt English mony 5 ^b is	77	06	00
tt 232 oz. of peces of $\frac{1}{2}$ toant eight pence at 6.8 ^d			
per oz.			
	<u>150</u>	<u>00</u>	<u>00</u>

A wealthy estate like that of the Curwines is settled by a complicated division of the specie and valuables, as this memo. shows.

¹ Macpherson, *An. Commerce*, ii. 511.

² *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1661-1668, p. 60.

conferred on a people. Immense, horrible mischief has been done by the ill-regulation, over-issue, and repudiation of promises to pay. States and private associations have each outdone the other in the wretched business. But the benefit done, the lives lifted and alleviated, the lands subdued, the wealth created, by this paper engine of industry, can be enumerated no more than the fall of rain and the good of the raindrops can be cast into columns of figures. It is easy for those in the marts of exchange to say to those on the frontiers, "Trade in gold and silver and be happy." When the pioneers have hardly any specie, and that will not stay, some representative of value must be had. Enterprising and industrious men in this need have always created some medium of exchange ; probably they always will.

We do not know the precise date when Winthrop first conceived his idea of "a way of trade and banke wthout mony."¹ Mr. Paine puts the beginning of paper currency in Massachusetts as early as 1646.² This use of paper was not the organic system of currency I mean. There were "paper bills,"—issued by private persons,—used in the payment of debts, quite early. This fact, and the canvassing of a plan³ for "raiseing a Banke," was used by the apologists for the mint opened in 1652. "Bank" then meant, in colonial language, an issue of paper money, what we understand by treasury notes, fulfilling the office of bank bills. It will appear that Winthrop intended a paper currency based on property, especially property in land, but which should circulate with the ease and convertibility of specie. We do not find that Winthrop or his fellow economists suspected that paper must be redeemable in gold and silver in order to keep its currency and its attributes of value.

The date of the conception is unknown. It first ap-

¹ 5 *M. H. C.*, viii. 86.

² *Proc. Am. Ant. Soc.*, 1864, p. 35 ; and see *Ibid.*, iii. 271, 273.

³ Felt, *Mass. Currency*, p. 33.

pears in 1661, through the reply of Samuel Hartlib, of the Royal Society, to Winthrop. "I passionately long for your anonymous Friend's (whom also before you have named) Method to raise such vast Profits without such engagement of Lands as the said Bank of Lands requireth. . . . If God spare my life and health, I shal acquaint you more largely with the Banke of Lands. For the times of such a Publique and Universal Happiness seems not yet to bee at hand. Mr. Potter hath very much elaborated y^{at} whole Designe, but is not so willing to act for ye present."¹

Before taking up Potter's theories in this direction we may see what scheme was actually attempted in Barbadoes. Hartlib writes in September. On the nineteenth of November, Francis Cradock and others submit a proposition "for erecting banks in England without money, and raising a revenue by the ease of the people, seeming as great a mystery as it is a novelty."² Lord Ashley, Chancellor of the Exchequer, has little confidence in first experiments, "especially in matters of this nature." But he recommends the petition to the effect that it be tried in Barbadoes to open the way for its introduction into England. In December authority is given for a "bank or banks in Barbadoes founded on the security of land and goods, with sole power to give credit and transfer the same from one month's account to another, as is done by the ownership of money or credit in foreign parts." There was power to inspect the lands, and to assign the "credit to be laid on them," and to fix reasonable rates for "warehouse room." The memorandum says that planters and others had been forced to pay 30 per cent. per annum interest, and fixes the future rate at six per cent. with penalty of forfeiture. We see from these details what the financiers were then seeking in the

¹ *Proc. M. H. S.* 1878, p. 212.

² *Br. Cal. S. P. Col.* 1661-1668, pp. 60, 62.

institutions they attempted to found. The modern bank was not conceived of, and these crude machines would attempt several lines of business and credit-giving, which in our day are divided between as many private houses or public institutions. All this was included in the plan of creating a currency and of banking proper.

This was in 1661, when Hartlib and Winthrop's correspondence first appears. To comprehend the intent and scope of Winthrop's scheme, we must study the works of his master and teacher in finance, William Potter, of London. A copy of his "Key to Wealth."¹ was in Winthrop's library. This interesting monograph shows the author groping after that wider and quicker circulation of commodities which has been actually realised in later times. He saw that the amount of gold and silver available for commercial exchanges was severely limited, and must always be so. He conceived, rather blindly, that specie was not only the lever which moved the bartering trade prevailing, but was the basis of all credit. Certainly he clearly apprehended the true method of increasing facilities, and converting "dead" into "quick" trade, though the details of his plan were not sufficient to work out his method. Greater mobility would be given to trade by some "firm and known security" among tradesmen. He says, to increase trade a new supply of gold and silver must be had; but failing this, a flag or sign of specie must be instituted instead.

To create and establish this symbol he makes an ingenious "parable." He imagines the new discovery of a great mine of gold, the product of which should be placed in the hands of the best known and trusted Englishmen, bankers, merchants, and others. This syndicate would issue notes, bills, or other evidences, to be made good in ready money six months after demand. He shows the relation between money and currency in this

¹ London, 1650, folio pamphlet, now in Society Library, New York.

striking statement: “*Money* is given to men for their commodities, upon no other accompt then as an *Evidence* or *Testimony* (That is as it were a Token or Ticket) to signifie how far forth other men are indebted for, and ingaged to recompence the fruits of their labors, or possessions by commodities of some other kind, instead of those that for such money they parted with.”¹

He shows in other connections how he had thought out the influence of such a philosopher’s stone upon trade, labor, and “possessions;” how it would affect land, the solid and strong intrenchment of wealth. All this looks simple now in the light of achieved victories in finance, in regulated credit, and in banking quickened by steam and electricity. It looked then like the work of Aladdin and his murky Afreets, summoned from the pits of hell to alarm the respectable burghers of Lombard Street.

He intended to get a currency which should have the functions of money, and yet not be money itself. The general drift of his argument reveals this even more than the detached extracts I am able to cite. “Besides *Money*, there is nothing except credit, upon which men can frequently and conveniently sell their commodities. It must follow, the only feasible means whereby both to revive and multiply the decayed trade of this land, is by increasing amongst Tradesmen some firm and known Credit or Security, equal to that of the Chamber of London, Banke of Amsterdam, or any Bills of Exchange, which being given in written or printed evidences, may be fit to transfer from hand to [‘hand’ inserted in writing, probably by Winthrop], whereby the multiplication thereof throughout the Land, may produce the same effect in order to the *Increase of Trade*, as the increase of so much *Money* amongst them would do.”²

These devices by Potter were studied by Winthrop, and none of the Royal Society were more fertile in invention.

¹ *Key to Wealth*, p. 38.

² *Ibid.*, p. 38.

In 1661 he submits the plan for "a way of trade and banke wthout mony," which called forth such enthusiastic praise from Hartlib. The scheme he attributes to an anonymous friend; this is considered to be a ruse, and the authorship is generally assigned to Winthrop.¹ This plan must have been in harmony with Potter's, and, moreover, an enlargement of it. If it had merely followed Potter's ideas of 1650, it would not have attracted so much notice in London. In 1661 Hartlib says: "Mr Potter has very much elaborated y^{at} whole Designe, but is not so willing to act for y^e present."² In the same connection Hartlib speaks of it as a "Method to raise such vast Profits without such engagement of Lands as the said Bank of Lands requireth."

Winthrop himself, writing to Brereton in London in 1663, alludes to his "way of trade and banke wthout mony . . . to the great advance of trade, and settlement of such a banke as may answer all those ends y^t are atteined in other p^rts of the world by banks of ready mony."³

To return to Potter's idea: he intended to make notes or bills which should be secure in value, current in trade, but not convertible into money or specie at sight. They were to be loaned freely to borrowers. They could not be hoarded like bullion. Wares could be sold, "instead of on trust, two shillings in a pound less than ordinary, when paid in this *Gold*, not other waies."³

The bills were to be made good "in ready money" six months after demand, payable in general to the bearer. He would obtain an Act of Parliament to remove obstructions. The objection that the bills could not be divided into shillings applied to gold as well. The objection that they would not obtain currency in foreign countries made them so much the better for domestic trade. In an

¹ *Proc. M. H. S.* 1878, p. 212.

² *5 Mass. H. C.*, viii. 86.

³ *Key to Wealth*, pp. 42, 43, 44.

abstract of his "Key" called the "Tradesman's Jewel,"¹ he says traders may increase "Without parting with Money, or any Stock out of their own hands: By making their Bills to become current instead of Money."

Winthrop's plan was variously called "a Bank of Lands," a "Bank of Lands & Comodities," "A way of trade and banke wthout mony;" and, again, there is no "engagement" of the lands.

Forerunners
of paper
money.

Keeping the theories of his master Potter in mind, it is evident that Winthrop conceived of a currency which should have something of the credit and expansive power of modern paper money, without its convertibility into specie. He would maintain the credit of his bills by some ingenious hypothecation of land or commodities. It could not have been mere loaning on warehouse receipts of property, for that was no novelty, being already at work in Barbadoes. The scheme was bold enough to make the enterprising Potter pause in recommending it to the London world.

We must remember that the first governor of Connecticut was no reckless schemer, or mere theoretical expert in affairs. His mind was restless and inventive, but did not lose its prudence. He embarked in many and various ventures, but left a good estate, the result of his skill and enterprise. There is no evidence that either Potter or Winthrop expected to create something out of nothing. There was no conception of the state, converting paper into gold by a fiat. These men felt the aching economic void which has been filled by the inventions of modern banking in currency and exchange. Whatever basis of values society adopts, we have always found that increase of wealth brings increase of credit. These men were vaguely conscious of this, and tried to put their ideas into tangible practice before the time was ready.

¹ Cited by J. Hammond Trumbull in a discussion of Potter's and Winthrop's theories. *Proc. Am. Ant. Soc.* 1884, iii. 270.

With the forecast of genius, they struck at the essential nature of a currency, which is the exchange of values through the medium of a bill. Their ideas were crude, their methods were incomplete. Their plans, such as they were, never came to pass ; yet they opened the way for a currency. The path has led through dark jungles and tangled swamps ; it has sent off many byways into the morasses of bankruptcy and repudiation. Danger and toil have always attended the explorers in finance, and they always will. Nevertheless the path is the way of civilisation. The greater the development of civilised life, the larger will be the values in paper and credit. We must not forget the pioneers and inventors who made our modern development possible. Joseph Jencks first forged out the wonder-working machines in iron and steel. John Winthrop, the younger, worked in a more subtle laboratory and encompassed a wider field. He summoned forth those more potent forces which marshal and control the human will, — an electricity finer than any matter can give forth. He began the American evolution of credit and exchange ; that larger Pactolus streaming across continents, and mastering oceans in its steady ebb and flow.

The difficulties of trade were not occasioned entirely by the scarcity of coin, though that aggravated them. The West Indies had plenty of coin, yet they had Imperfect circulation of the money they had. They bartered instead of using it.¹ The economic deficiency was in the movement of exchange and in the circulation of the money they had, as well as in a lack of negotiable funds. Let us turn to New Amsterdam in 1662. Beaver was about as good a remittance to Europe as gold. Stuyvesant² complains to the directors in the Netherlands of the bad working of the joint colonial currency of beaver and wampum. Salaries were paid in beaver at 7 florins ; 25,000 or 30,000 skins were handled that year in the collection of the revenue. The

¹ See above, p. 314.

² *Doc. N. Y.*, xiv. 483.

greater part of the remainder of the revenue was paid in wampum at 10 pieces or beads for a stiver. The wampum lost 50 per cent. of its value before the government could convert it into beaver at 8 florins, the ordinary colonial rate. He contends that the difficulty cannot be overcome by reducing the wampum to 12 or 16 pieces for a stiver, and he recommends that beaver and other furs should be reduced in price in the colony, and kept below their standard of value in the Fatherland. The fact is interesting in that it proposed a method of finance coincident with that tried by Massachusetts in fixing her coinage at a lower standard than the sterling of England. Of course it would have succeeded no better.

The Canadians had a similar experience.¹ Coin would not remain in circulation. They used beaver, and in 1669 made wheat a legal tender; five years later they included moose skins in the standard.

The barter of commodities was converted into a currency taking the place of money, under the regulation and correction of the "rates" assessed for taxes. So far as the authorities could, they controlled the prices of commodities. The colonies generally voted from year to year the "rates" at which the various grains and other products would be received into the public treasury. Often the treasury had to be relieved of redundant merchandise by selling it at the going price, when the market fell below the "rates." Rhode Island, in 1662,² made beef, pork, and peas receivable at the market price, which the merchants took as "moneye pay." For 40s. of this "moneye pay," 30s. in New England silver, or 22s. 6d. in English sterling, would be received as an equivalent. Coin was extremely scarce. The Rhode Island rate in 1670 was generally the same as the Massachusetts,³ viz., wheat 5s., Indian corn 3s. But Rhode

Currency of
commodities
for taxes,
etc.

¹ Parkman, *O. R.*, p. 299.

² *R. I. C. R.*, i. 481.

³ *M. C. R.*, iv. 2, 464; *R. I. C. R.*, ii. 359.

Island allowed one half discount on these prices for New England silver. In 1679 the Bay, "for the encouragement of the importation of money," made Mexican and Seville pieces of eight, and "pillar" pieces of silver, current at six shillings each.¹

In the year 1670 Massachusetts² repealed her law, "now injurious," which made corn, cattle, etc., the equivalent for money. Contracts thereafter payable in specie were to be paid in the same specie contracted. Rhode Island made a curious regulator of the currency of commodities in 1674³ by constituting wool, at 12*d.* per lb., a standard of valuation in assessing rates and in settling estates. All sorts of merchandise were received for taxes, and they had a hard struggle to keep out "lean" cattle. Hingham took milkpails in legal tender.

The Massachusetts statutes from 1675 to 1684,⁴ regulating the "rates" of taxation and the fluctuations of money and "country pay," are most interesting and suggestive. "Pay" then meant nearly what we understand by the term "currency." There was a gradual breaking down of the system by which the prices of bartered commodities were stamped symbolically by the seal of the state. It was impossible to collect money for taxes from a people having no money. It was hardly more possible to force the current of commodities out of the treasury, after the power of government and the patriotism of people had garnered them in. For the economic features of this financial development are no more significant than the political forces revealed under this willing though clumsy transfer of the people's goods. All through these phantasms of finance, the people were trying to pay the just burdens of government. They paid freely from what they had. The principle of the com-

*Breakdown
of "coun-
try pay."*

lating the "rates" of taxation and the fluctuations of money and "country pay," are most interesting and suggestive. "Pay" then meant

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, c. 241.

² *M. C. R.*, iv. 2, 463.

³ *R. I. C. R.*, ii. 521.

⁴ *M. C. R.*, v. 55, 121, 156, 195, 219, 269, 376, 417, 453.

munity I have sketched could have no better illustration. Taxation was borne cheerfully, so long as the spirit and purpose of the government ran according to the aspirations and desires of the governed.

We have noted the difficulties of the neighboring district of Rhode Island, much poorer in resources than the Bay. In 1674 they were obliged to correct the circulation of their "country pay" by a standard of wool at 12*d.* per pound. Wool, in comparison with many products, had an imperishable value. But in 1675 and the year following, Massachusetts was obliged to deduct one quarter from the assessed "rates" for payment in money. In 1677, when the burden of Philip's war had begun to bear heavily, one third was discounted for coin. In 1678 a money tax was named for the first time; there were three "rates," one in money, two in corn. In 1679 from the same "rates," one half was discounted in the prices of the commodities for payment in money. In 1680 the bureau officials—always quickly galled by loads which people in common life carry readily—squeaked, and the General Court made one quarter part of the salary of its clerk payable in money. There were two "rates" in money, one being for a debt due the Colonial Treasurer, and two "rates" in produce. In 1684 the colony's debts for salaries, etc., were made payable in the towns where the creditors dwelt, to avoid the waste of transporting "country pay." This waste was estimated at from five to ten per cent, and this year the Treasurer¹ was allowed one shilling in the pound for loss in measuring and warehousing.

One third discount from "country pay" for money seems to have been well established, for the town of Boston recognises that ratio in its transactions.² The same rates prevailed in the northern parts of the province.³ And

¹ *M. C. R.*, v. 464.

² *Boston T. Rec.*, p. 182.

³ *Belknap, N. H.*, i. 186; *N. H. Provincial Papers*, i. 448.

Rhode Isl.
and's expe-
rience.

in western Massachusetts the discount from the rates for money was one quarter before and one third after 1680.¹

This picture reflects but faintly the severe pressure which drove the colonies, Massachusetts especially, into the fabrication of paper substitutes for money. The colony did not arrive at the fatal issue of fiat notes *Fiat money.* and paper money until the merchants, traders, and political representatives had gone through a process of education disposing them to so desperate a remedy for the ills I have cited. Some traces of these mental struggles appear in a few rare tracts which have been preserved. One of these, printed in 1682 at Boston, entitled "Severals relating to the FUND," is considered by Mr. Trumbull² to have been written by Rev. John Woodbridge, of Newbury, Mass. :—

The author proposes a "Fund of Land, by Authority, or private Persons, in the Nature of a *Money-Bank*; or *Merchandise-Lumber*, to pass Credit upon, by *Book-Entries*; or *Bils of Exchange*, for great Payments; and *Change-bills* for running Cash. Wherein is demonstrated, First, the necessity of having a *Bank*, to enlarge the *Measure* of Dealings in this Land, by shewing the benefit of *Money*, if enough to mete Trade with; and the disadvantages when it is otherwise. Secondly, that Credit pass'd in *Fund*, by Book, and Bills, (as afore) will fully supply the defect of *Money*. Wherein is related, of how little value *Coin*, as the *Measure* of Trade, need be, in itself; what Inconveniences subject to. The worth a *Fund-Bill*, or Payment therein, is of: & not of that Hazard."

We must study the terms very carefully. Lumber was not deals or boards, but a Lombard; a bank and yet not a bank. For we learn from the prospectus of the "Office of Credit," an institution opened in London about 1665, "the ³ foundation of Credit in *Bank* is *Money*, and here

¹ Judd, *Hadley*, p. 102.

² Cited in his report, *Am. Ant. Soc.* 1884, iii. 3, p. 268 *et seq.*, from which I quote.

³ *Am. Ant. Soc.*, iii. 300.

't is Goods and Merchandise; and for goods received in a Lumbard, they deliver out *Money*, and here *Credit*."

Apparently the modern functions of a bank of deposit and issue, of a drawer of bills of exchange, of a specie dealer, of a security warehouse of merchandise, were all combined and involved in the scheme emanating from the fertile brain of Rev. John Woodbridge. The hypothecation of property in pledge, so simple a transaction now, was not so well comprehended then. The word itself, embodied in the Roman law, was not revived and adopted into English until a full century later. The conversion of land or merchandise into an equivalent circulating medium of paper seemed easy to these theorists of the seventeenth century. The true credit of paper—which, as proven many times in subsequent experience, can only be maintained by actual or potential convertibility into coin—was never apprehended or even imagined by these financiers.

The tract shows that a "Fund of Land" was started in Massachusetts in 1671, and carried on for some months, which did not issue bills. Another private bank was established and issued bills in September, 1681. How this resulted we do not know. It does not appear that these attempts were indorsed or incorporated by the authorities of Massachusetts. In 1686 public opinion was ripe for this next movement in the enlargement of credit. President Dudley grants to John Blackwell and others a virtual charter for "erecting and maintaining a Bank of Credit Lumbard and Exchange of Moneys by Persons of approved Integrity, prudence & estates in this Country, wherein such a foundation is layd for delivering out Bills, or giving Credit, on such Real Estate of Lands, as also personal Estates," etc.

The directors are called "Conservatives," and the preamble recites that their powers are given them on account of "the great decay of trade, obstructions to manufactures

Wood-
bridge's
scheme.

and commerce in this Country, and multiplicity of debts and suits thereupon, principally occasioned by the present scarcity of coyne.”¹ And, moreover, that in other countries “Bank Credit or Bills are of greater value than ready money there.”

This completes the evolution of paper currency until the colonial government was inoculated with the *Massachusetts Bills*. idea. In 1690 it issued fiat money. “Merchandise-Lumbard” credit passed in “Fund,” — bulky spectres which had fulfilled their office, — were rolled back into the mists of the past. It was far easier, as appeared then, to print in fair terms, “This indented Bill of Ten Shillings, due from the Massachusetts Colony to the Possessor, shall be in value equal to money.” Indenture was the symbol of a solemn contract between the maker and the holder of the bill. The holder found at last that the best will of a promisor and all the promises of a state were not enough to make a paper bill equal in value to money.

The currency, such as it was, lost something in effective force by the decay of the Indian trade. After *Indian trade.* 1676 the Indians were fewer, and produced less than they did in the first generation of colonial life. There were less furs, and they exercised less relative force in the exchanges as the century waned. Trucking houses were maintained on the frontiers, which were constantly pushing forward with the advance of settlers. Always troublesome, these centres of barbaric traffic and half-civilised encounter were regulated from time to time by colonial interference and supervision.²

Agriculture, as a producing factor beyond the wants of *Agriculture.* each homestead, was subordinated to commerce so early that it makes few distinctive marks on

¹ Cited from *Mass. Arch.* by Felt, in *Mass. Currency*, p. 46; and see *Prince Soc.*, *Andros Tract*, iii. 20.

² *N. Hamp. H. C.*, iii. 214-224; *Mass. Arch.*, cxix. 27; *M. C. R.*, v. 80.

the economic development of the time, apart from the exchanges through fishing and shipbuilding. Home wants were the mainsprings of agricultural industry. Produce was freely lent from one neighbor to another in anticipation of a crop. These loans constituted debts of honor in a farming community, and were carefully repaid.¹

There is little to add to John Winthrop the younger's summary of the exports in 1660. Opinions differ concerning the date of the failure of wheat in our colonies. Hull mentions a blast as early as 1644. "The wheat generally blasted, and the blast this yr. took hold of Connecticut and New Haven; yet the Indian, barley, pease, and rye was spared."²

This would indicate clearly that the constant cropping of the older lands had begun to show its inevitable results in deteriorated wheat. A change in the price was established about this time. Winthrop quotes the "usual price about 4s." in 1660. This was antecedent, for the Massachusetts rates³ were fixed at 5s. in the same year, and never fell below that figure. Nor did they advance beyond 5s. to 5s. 6d. until after the paper inflation, excepting in one year, 1675,⁴ when they were at 6s. Wheat was often made a fixed proportion of the minister's salary in many towns, which shows stability of value. Sewall, while settling the affairs of the Hull estate, was in the habit of ordering "seive bottoms," from London. They were to be used, probably, in sifting or bolting wheat. As a specimen I cite his order in 1687 for "30 doz. coarse hair seive bottoms, 4 ft.; five doz. middle do. 4 ft.; 20 doz. small do.; 5 doz. lawn seive bottoms; 5 doz. middling wicker fans to fan corn."⁵

In the newer districts about Hadley wheat was steady during the latter part of the century, or until the inflation

¹ Macy, *Nantucket*, p. 27.

² *Diaries*, p. 218.

³ *M. C. R.* iv. 1, p. 434.

⁴ *M. C. R.*, v. 55.

⁵ 6 *M. H. C.*, i. 67.

of the currency was felt. The winter grain ruled at 3s. 3d. to 3s. 6d., the summer at 3s.¹ In John Pynchon's prices at Springfield, for forty years, winter wheat was at 4s., summer at 3s. 6d., or about 6d. above the price at Hadley and Northampton. Pynchon sometimes sent 2,000 bushels of wheat and peas to Boston, but sent no Indian corn. One bushel of summer, or as we should say, spring wheat, made about 34 lbs. of good flour. This sold in Hadley at 11s. to 12s. for 112 lbs.; it was 1s. higher at Springfield, 2s. higher at Hartford. Families had bolting-mills; often one sifted the flour for several neighbors. They were simple affairs, running the meal over several yards of sleazy cloth. Strainer cloth was common in Boston stocks of merchandise.

Pynchon² packed hogs largely, 1662-83, at Springfield, Beef and paying to the farmers $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 3d. per lb. in "country pay." The weight is recorded of 162 hogs at 27,409 lbs., averaging about 170 lbs.; only 25 went above 200 lbs.; two weighed 270 lbs. and 282 lbs. Cured pork was higher per pound than cured beef, and was generally a better commodity. In 1685,³ the Saco minister gets beef at $1\frac{1}{2}$ d., pork at $2\frac{1}{2}$ d., with all sorts of commodities at fixed prices in his salary. Pork and beef were named frequently in the Connecticut and Rhode Island rates receivable for taxes. Apparently much poor beef was thrown out in inspection and repacking, for a great difference was made in price: 12s. per hundred was allowed before repacking, and 30s. after, by Rhode Island in 1678.⁴ Pork sold at from 50s. to 70s. per bbl.; the latter being a high figure. Wait Winthrop,⁵ in Boston, quotes it in 1667 to Fitz John, when they were getting nothing from their estates in Connecticut, except 400 or

¹ Judd, *Hadley*, p. 102.

² *Ibid.*, p. 378.

³ Folsom, *Saco and Biddeford*, p. 237.

⁴ *R. I. C. R.* iii. 22.

⁵ *5 Mass. H. C.*, viii. pp. 407, 411.

500 bushels Indian corn, which would not sell at 12d., while pork was quick. The country must have turned its corn into pork speedily, for he quotes it the next year "at 52s., when it will sell."

Cider was a good commodity in town rates ; it appears in Reading at 10s. per hogshead in 1679.¹ In the Connecticut valley, it was an important product. ^{Sundry prices.}

In Stratford in 1678² a mill was sold for £140, payable in pork, wheat, rye, corn, beef (for £100), and £40 in "good winter cider made in October." Tobacco is received in the rates in Reading, Mass., at 6d. per lb. Tobacco "tongs" occur frequently in merchants' stocks, the culture must have been general in the latter part of the century.

We may get at relative values by comparing prices. Indian corn was almost always 3s., peas (beans are not mentioned, and probably were included in the name) and barley 4s. Merchantable pine boards at any landing place in New Hampshire were 26s. per M; white-oak pipe-staves 50s.; red-oak do. 35s.³ Boards in Saco were 18s. per M,⁴ and red oak staves 16s. about the same time, but it is not specified that the delivery was at a landing. Butter was 5d. in Saco and in Rhode Island. Wool was rated at 6d. per lb. in Rhode Island in 1678, but that was over valued, for the Treasurer was allowed to "pass it at 5d."⁵ This was an extremely low price for wool ; all produce was low in Rhode Island that year. George Carr⁶ and his fellow-commissioners noted that the best English grass and the most sheep were in this province. Ewes commonly brought two lambs. Corn yielded eighty for one, and in some places had grown for twenty-six years without manure. Horses were an important export from the

¹ Eaton, *Reading*, p. 26.

² Swan, *Stratford, Ct.*

³ *Prov. Pap. N. H.*, i. 490.

⁴ Folsom, *Saco*, p. 137.

⁵ *R. I. C. R.*, iii. 22.

⁶ *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1661-1668, p. 343.

Narragansett country. Hull, with his associates, began breeding them early on Point Judith Neck. A barrel of pork exchanged for 300 lbs. of sugar in Barbadoes in 1671.¹ Turnips and apples were each 1s. per bushel in Haverhill, as well as other towns, and board was 4s. per week.² A horse's fodder for a day and night was 4d. in summer, 6d. in winter.³

Laborers were few, and the scarcity annoyed those farmers and employers who were obliged to go beyond their own families for assistance. Labor.

The General Court of Massachusetts⁴ in 1672 troubles itself with the oppression of excessive wages, which was increased by demands for liquors to be furnished by employers. Therefore, and to discourage bad habits, drinking of liquors was forbidden. And in 1675 mechanics and day-laborers, demanded excessive pay. To offset constraint on the laborers, the authorities arranged to fine merchants for too high prices of their wares. In 1677 young men on the east coast, and at York, Dover, and Portsmouth, when not employed, were to be impressed to work for their own support. All this legislation points one way, — toward vain efforts to hold and control the toilers, who grew more and more independent in every generation.

Common laborers generally received 2s. per day, or £10 per annum; women £4 to £5 per annum.⁵ Mowers had 2s. 2d. per day. Indians worked in the fields in sufficient numbers to attract the notice of that interesting observer, the French Protestant Refugee in Boston⁶ in 1687. They were paid at 18d. per day, which this authority considers dearer in proportion than the price of ordinary hired men.

The prices of land inventoried in estates at this period show that domestic agriculture had grown with the prog-

¹ Caulkins, *New London*, p. 235. ² Chase, *Haverhill*, p. 132.

³ Felt, *Salem*, i. 418.

⁴ *M. C. R.*, iv. 2, 510; v. 63, 144.

⁵ Pattee, *Braintree*, p. 541.

⁶ Report translated by Fisher.

ress of the colonies, and had become a settled factor in the prosperity of the country, although inferior to the fishing and shipbuilding industries. Prices in the villages were much higher than in outlying districts. But all show that improved land had a solid value in a good currency. Winthrop¹ quotes land at £7.10 per acre in Massachusetts. In Providence² prices were very low in 1680. Thomas Walling's homestead, lands, and meadow were appraised at £100 only. Stephen Harding, Jr.'s, dwelling-house and about twelve acres of land were valued at £32. At Hartford, Windsor, and Weathersfield, meadow land in tracts of fifty or sixty acres is frequently valued at from £5 to £7 per acre; pasture at £3.6.8 and downward; woodland at 11s.; "wet swamp" about the same.³ These prices of land were high, compared with other values of the period. They were for tracts adjoining, or forming a constituent part of, the homestead estates of the more thrifty villagers and men of affairs. They were devoted to agriculture, but in close connection with the home.

I have alluded to the relative values of pork and of beef. Pork carried the most solid nutriment in the least space, and was in good demand to provision vessels for the fishing and export trade; beef being more difficult to place in market. The Winthrop letters show how uncertain the market for produce was in Boston. John Hull gives a curiously pathetic relation of his efforts in turning a pair of fat cattle into money for a country correspondent in 1674, when there was no unusual disturbance in trade. The owner brought them in summer, and agreed with a butcher to sell them for £11. But "new grass meat" came in, and the

¹ 5 M. H. C., viii. 384.

² *Records of Town Council.*

³ Miss Caulkins, in her excellent history of Norwich, p. 85, gives a much lower range of prices in these towns. But they do not correspond with my reading of the inventories.

Hull's struggle with fat oxen.

buyer backed out. Then Hull could get no positive offer unless he would take all the fresh meat a butcher could not sell. In his pasture the oxen were so restless when the "towne cowes" passed by, morning and evening, that they almost broke the strong fences. And they "did soe tread my grass & in the wett ground make soe many holes with there feete that I had bett' have given twenty shillings they had never came there, but I will have nothing because yo^r loss is great."¹

Finally, after trading one at a time and jobbing a part of the meat, he gets £10.3.6., which he credits his correspondent in the following December. He signs himself with realistic fervor "Yo^r Loveing frend." Good commerce and the best friendliness. Hull's heart, conscience, and pocket all vibrate in complete unison. His affections, religion, passions, all work together into pence, shillings, and pounds.

¹ Hull, *Letter Book*, Am. Ant. Soc.

CHAPTER IX.

PRIVATEERS, PIRATES, AND THEIR RELATIONS TO COMMERCE.

1686–1713.

WE turn aside from the course of legitimate commerce to trace the irregular and illegal enterprises which vexed the American shores, and increased the constant risks of the seas. These both created and destroyed trade. It is difficult to separate privateering from piracy in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Private war.
Pri-
vate war has never been controlled and regulated as thoroughly upon the seas as upon the land. Plunder upon the high seas always fascinated bold, restless adventurers; and governments long permitted or connived at private expeditions to annoy the commerce of rival powers, when they would not have attacked their regular forces, or have intruded upon their territories.

The buccaneer — hunter of savages and imitator of savages — in the sixteenth century would have been repudiated in every European capital if his deeds had been known at the time they were committed. But sovereigns and courtiers did not inquire too curiously how their possessions were extended, or from whence or by what means the prizes of the buccaneer were obtained. His roving commission ¹ was often signed by an English provincial governor, and he was regarded as the lineal descendant of Hawkins and of Drake. This rover became the privateer of the seventeenth century. ^{Sea rovers.} Then, when the periods of peace would not allow the issue

¹ *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1661–1668, p. lxxiii.

of formal letters of marque, a class of private warriors arose, who were not pirates in the modern sense, not such outlaws as terrified the Spanish Main and the American coasts in the early eighteenth century. We forget that all maritime expeditions were more or less warlike in the early times. The French *armateur*, "privateer," became, in the course of peaceful development, a simple "ship-owner."

I have cited Governor Bradford's opinion of these men. He thought the money they brought was dearly purchased by the vices they communicated to the orderly colonial community. In 1649 Bluefield, or Blauvelt, a Dutch privateersman, carried a Spanish prize into Newport.¹ The governor complained that she was taken during a truce; but there was no Spanish or English man-of-war present to enforce the law of nations. The people wanted to buy the prize cargoes,—cheap in their sudden abundance,—the sailors wanted the prize money. So an irregular traffic thrrove, and economically it enriched the colonial ports, especially at Newport and New York.

Conflicts of jurisdiction among the colonial governments further confused this business, which — according to all modern ideas of law — was illegitimate in its inception. In 1653 Thomas Harding seized a rich prize sailing from Barbadoes. He was tried in Boston, but escaped by proving that the vessel was Dutch and not Spanish. Massachusetts released him, but on the requisition of the governor of Barbadoes he was sent to be tried there.²

In Rhode Island the President and four Assistants could grant commissions. In 1653 Edward Hull³ was sent against the Dutch, or any enemies of the Commonwealth of England. The colony was to have a portion

¹ R. Williams to Winthrop, *Narragansett Club*, vi. 186.

² *Mass. Arch.*, lx. 172-186.

• *R. I. C. R.*, i. 266, 270.

of any prizes. Providence justly feared the trouble certain to come from such broad powers of mischief; and said it "may set all New England on fire." A vessel once seized could hardly escape such elastic powers of control; as was proven in the case of The Margaret, from Bordeaux, laden with strong waters, vinegar, and prunes, to trade in New England for dried fish. Hull carried her into Rhode Island, and the courts condemned her.¹ If caught on the wrong tack, the enterprising rover might be condemned as a pirate. Or if lucky, he might live out his days in the character of a "rich privateer," like Thomas Cromwell, of Boston.²

I would call attention to the political and more especially to the economic force and bearing of these adventures. Governments coquetted with them, according as larger interests were affected, and, protected or not, the adventurers were seldom idle.³ France took them under regular protection in the West Indies in 1664.⁴ From the proceedings of the Council of Jamaica⁵ in London, 1666, on granting letters of marque against the Spaniards, we perceive the motives prompting these irregular, warlike enterprises in those days. The same prevailed economically in New England. The privateers furnished the island with many necessary commodities "at easy rates." They replenished it with coin, cocoa, logwood, tallow, indigo, etc. for which the New England men brought provisions in exchange. They helped the poorer planters by victualling their vessels from them, and they furnished means to buy more slaves. They kept many able artificers at work, in Port Royal and elsewhere, at "extraordinary wages;" and "whatsoever they get the soberer part bestow in

Temptations
offered by
privateering.

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, lx. 149-159.

² *5 Mass. H. C.*, vi. 48.

³ Hazard, *H. C.*, i. 624; *3 Mass. H. C.*, i. 64.

⁴ Grovestins, *Guillaume III. and Louis XIV.*, vii. 671.

⁵ *Cal. Br. S. P. Col.* 1661-1668, p. 358.

strengthening their old ships." These were the orthodox and respectable arguments for private war proclaimed to king and council. Is it strange that New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and more indirectly Massachusetts, struggled to secure the same economic benefits?

It was easy for nations to begin these enterprises,—to ^{Privateers,} set armaments and men to prey on commerce. It ^{then pirates.} was not easy to control such a system of plunder, to keep individual rovers within lawful channels, or to stop them at discretion. Privateers merged into pirates when there was no lawful game afloat. Eastern Long Island¹ and the shores of Connecticut afforded convenient hiding places; New York and Newport were ports ready for the disposition of cargoes. Boston merchants dealt in the vessels and goods, and were charged with fitting out expeditions. In 1682² Daniel Wetherell informed the governor and council of Connecticut that "a catch and 2 small sloops, with about 30 or 40 privateers or rather pirates," arrived at East Hampton, L. I. They sold a ketch to Mr. Hutchinson, of Boston, and bought a sloop of Captain Hubbard, of Boston.

Randolph, when in prison at Boston, charged that three ^{Uncertain} privateers were fitting out for the Spanish West Indies.³ He alludes to the rich Dutch prizes brought into Boston by "Capt. l'Morin," worth about one hundred thousand pounds. And he speaks of Mr. Wharton, Morin's attorney, as "a great undertaker for pyratts and promoter of irregular trade." It vexed him that they "sett at liberty severall pyratts who robb'd a Spanish ship loaden with about four thousand Spanish hydes, money, plate, rich commodities." It is impossible to determine, in the instances recorded, which were privateers and which pirates, as we understand those terms.

¹ *Doc. N. Y.*, xiv. 768.

² *Connect. Arch., Trade and Mar. Affairs*, i.

³ *Doc. N. York*, iii. 582.

Men were enlisted by rovers like Ebenezer Buck, and when arraigned they claimed that they were enticed into service to fight the French.¹

The royal officers tried to check these scandals, and Connecticut passed an act in 1683,² Rhode Island in 1684,³ against privateers and pirates, in obedience to the royal proclamations. But the king complains to Governor Dongan in 1687 that "Pirates and Sea Rovers have not been duly prosecuted, but escap'd through Partiallity of Juries." They continued their operations, "to the great detriment of Trade @ Prejudice of our good brother the Catholick King and other allies."⁴ The accounts reveal a weak and inefficient administration of laws, further weakened by the lax public sentiment of the colonies. European trade and the Catholic king might suffer, but New England withers were unwrung. John Hull and his respectable compeers might not touch "irregular" operations, but they liked the free flow of commodities which any and all commerce brought them.

The laws
weakly ad-
ministered.

In 1687 his Majesty issued a proclamation for calling in and suppressing pirates and privateers. As an example of its efficiency, we find one Christopher Goffe,⁵ "in a very sick and weak condition," surrendering himself. But able-bodied pirates were not caught by such chaff. On the other hand, a master of a ketch,⁶ happening to have on board gold, plate, and coin, was stopped by a royal frigate, taken to Boston on suspicion, and imprisoned, though he was innocent of piracy.

The pirates or privateers were furnished with provisions by vessels from the mainland, which took prize goods in return. All the ports dealt more or less in these questionable wares. Captain Nicholson⁷ reports

Trade in all
the ports.

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, xxxv. 150; lx. 282.

² Trumbull, *Conn.*, p. 366.

⁴ *Doc. N. York*, iii. 490.

⁶ *Mass. Arch.*, cxxvii. 47.

³ *R. I. C. R.*, iii. 155.

⁵ *Mass. Arch.*, cxxvii. 241.

⁷ *Doc. N. Y.*, iii. 552.

from Boston, in 1688, that "Peterson in a "barkalonga" of ten guns, with seventy men, the remnant of a famous company in the West Indies, had been on the coast during the summer. He loaded at Rhode Island, but Captain Nicholson could not obtain a bill against these offending citizens, from the grand jury who were their neighbors. Nicholson seized two ketches of Salem for trading with the same piratical privateer. One of the masters of the ketches brought a prize¹ that "the pyrate had taken in the West Indies" to "Martin's Vineyard," thence sent it to Nova Scotia. The pirate sold to "Andrew Bellshar, master of the Ship Swan," of Boston, some hides and elephants' teeth, receiving £57 in money and some provisions. Belcher was a well known merchant of Boston.

There were pirates and pirates. One class were private warriors and illegitimate traders in sympathy with responsible parties on shore; the other were outlaws. Veal² in 1685, Buck in 1690, seem to

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, xxxv. 61. Specimen of a prize cargo in 1689 :—

Appraisement of Cargo taken from Pirates.

	£	s.	d.
A Sloop and all her furniture	80	00	00
36½ barrels of pork	73	00	00
3 barrels of beef	03	00	00
14½ casks of flour	5	08	00
3 barrels of Indian corn		16	00
3 barrels sugar		6	06
3 barrels of pease		1	10
6 firkins of butter		9	00
4 cheeses		10	00
½ hogshead of salt		6	00
½ barrel of train oil and two barrels of Tar		1	04
15 muskets, shattered, and a barrel	10	10	00
6 old swords & 3 bayonets		1	10
Powder, lead & a parcel of old iron		2	10
8 boxes		16	00
A broken case of bottles		08	00
A box of books, paper and instruments		2	10
			00
	209	04	06

² *Mass. Arch.*, lxi. 279, 295, 296.

have been recognised as public enemies, and were hunted down. Wait Winthrop¹ in 1690 reports a pirate with a strong crew of 100 men. The men-of-war could not overhaul him. But two Rhode Island sloops "had a bout with them and kild them many men." Governor Bradstreet² in 1690 complains of the great damage done to the shipping, and of the insecurity of seaports, through "French Privateers and Pirates." Phipps³ distinguished himself in privateering against the French. Newport armed privateers at this time, and they were strong enough to contend with regular ships of the French navy. Frontenac in 1694 asked for a frigate to cruise near the St. Lawrence against the New England "*corsaires & flibustiers*." Quaker owners and captains sailed some of these vessels,⁴ so strong was the martial spirit of these seadogs.

Bownas,⁵ an English Friend, reports in 1702 that most of the able-bodied men on the Island had gone off in privateers.⁶ These rovers helped maintain civil order against foreign nations, while they abused it in piracy or semi-piracy. They did much to protect the coasts against French and Spanish privateers, a task not easy or desirable.⁷ As the Gloucester minister said when Captain Abraham Robinson failed in getting recruits from that hardy community to chase a French privateer, "It made them quake to think of turning out of their warm beds and from good fires."⁸

There were all degrees in privateering. William Ellery, of Newport, held a letter of marque from Prince George of Denmark, consort of Queen Anne.⁹ This disorder in the administration of government and in the morals of trade affected commerce far beyond the coasts of New

¹ 5 *Mass. H. C.*, v. iii. 494. ² Prince Soc., *Andros Tract*, iii. 22.

³ Sparks, *Life of Phipps*, p. 40. ⁴ R. I. Hist. Tracts, iii. 24.

⁵ Sheffield, *R. I. Privateers*, p. 9.

⁶ And see *Bos. News Letter*, May 18, 1704.

⁷ Freeman, *Cape Cod*, p. 594. ⁸ Babson, *Gloucester*, p. 138.

⁹ Babson, *Gloucester*, p. 84.

England and Long Island Sound. The richest commerce in the world was in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. Orientals had rich ships of their own, and European imports of Eastern products were increasing rapidly. Preying upon these rich argosies became better game than the adventurers of former generations had found in the West Indies. Madagascar sheltered a nest of bold and hardy pirates. Commerce came in to help in the disposition of goods gained by plunder; vessels running out from New York and carrying American produce to exchange for the rich wares held by the outlaws.

Colonel Fletcher, the governor of New York, commissioned these vessels and granted individual ^{Commiss-}
_{New York.} protections to their crews. One hundred dollars per man¹ was the price asked for this official indulgence. His council consisted of merchants generally interested in the expeditions. The governor, his wife and daughter, all received presents from the pirate chieftains. He sold a vessel given him for £800.² Hore, a famous privateer or pirate, was commissioned in The Fortune,³ from New York for the Red Sea, and brought home a rich cargo of East Indian commodities, which was partly shared among members of the council.

In our view, these intimacies between high officials and trading pirates would appear almost incredible; but they accorded with the sentiment of the time. Thomas Tew haunted both New York and Newport. He flitted often to the Red Sea, and was on the black list of the East India Company. Fletcher entertained him, exchanged gold watches, and carried him in his coach; when the Lords of Trade remonstrated, the artless governor replied that he wished to make Captain Tew a sober man. In particular he wished "to reclaime him from a vile habit of swearing."⁴ To forward this missionary work he gave him a

¹ *Doc. N. York*, iv. 307.

² *Ibid.*, p. 480.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 459.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 447.

book, and to "gaine the more upon him" he gives "a gunn of some value." As to his coming to his table, that was but common hospitality. Such nonsense could not get into an official report if public sentiment had not been in favor of trading with pirates in the colonies, and if the administration in London had not been lax in the same direction.

Rhode Island, Eastern Long Island, and Connecticut were busy in the same trade. Fletcher could see the mote in his neighbor's eye, for he said of the pirates, "they enrich the Charter Governments."¹ Vessels were often fitted out at Rhode Island and manned in New York.² Walter Clarke, the governor, issued the irregular commissions, and Randolph³ charged that he with his uncles was interested in the ventures. Certainly it was difficult to punish an offender where so many persons profited through his offence. When Downs, a suspected pirate, escaped from jail, the sheriff was charged with complicity.⁴ Arabian gold abounded both in New York and Rhode Island. The latter colony found it necessary in 1698 to enact that persons bringing in specie or other merchandise, "supposed to be taken upon the seas," must account before a magistrate how they obtained it.⁵ Governor Easton, at this time, declined to commission Tew; in 1694 Tew had offered him £500 for a commission, which was refused.⁶

Complicity
in high
places.

Jamaica in 1698 carried through an Act of Assembly for "reforming and punishing Privateers and Pirats." It stated that they "do continually go off from this island and sail under their commissions."⁷

The crown could not allow such flagrant proceedings in any part of its realms. Private war had dropped into plunder. Commissions to harass

British gov-
ernment
wakes up.

¹ *Doc. N. Y.*, iv. 151.

² *Ibid.*, p. 306.

³ *R. I. C. R.*, iii. 339.

⁴ *R. I. C. R.*, iii. p. 334.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 335.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 340.

⁷ *Connecticut Arch., Tr. and Mar. Aff.*, i.

public enemies had become mere pretexts for private robberies. William III. sought a representative whom he could clothe with his authority, and could trust for thorough and loyal administration, and he selected an Irish gentleman, Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont. After some delay he was commissioned as governor of Massachusetts and New York, and landed at the latter province in 1698. The Earl was a man of integrity, loyal to his trust, firm in his sense of official responsibility. He commenced vigorous action against the piratical expeditions, and the conversion of contraband goods received at New York and the other ports. The adventurers quickly tried and proved the metal of the man. They offered, in vain, £5,000 to the Earl, and £1,000 to his secretary, Mr. Weaver,¹ for a "protection" for one company. In another instance,² it was supposed, complaisance would have brought him £100,000.

Like all sincere and earnest administrators Bellomont found it even more difficult to reform that general public sentiment which sustains the law than to enforce the law itself against offenders. His council,—local merchants and traders,—the judges, the attorney general, all were lukewarm, incapable, or corrupt. He attempts vainly to detain a ship sailing for Madagascar, on suspicion. His council, "some of them concerned,"³ unanimously opposed this proceeding as "not prescribed by law." This unanimity in the action of the citizens shows the crude morality of the time halting after weak and inefficient laws. The people are not all bad at once without reason.

On the same day he tried to bring his official clamps to bear upon the other end of the trade, and to seize the goods coming in, if he could not on suspicion stop vessels going out. "Arabian gold," East Indian merchandise, seemed to be contraband clearly enough. Not so to the guileless traders dwelling

Bellomont
hinders
trade.

¹ *Doc. N. York*, iv. 458. ² *Ibid.*, p. 711. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 323.

at Manhattan. The sheriff was a party chiefly interested, and had £2,500 worth, more or less, of East Indian goods secreted in his own house. Precious articles, they needed domestic shelter!¹ It was in the first year of his coming, but the citizens clamored and said he had ruined the town by hindering the “Privateers [for so they call pirates] from bringing in £100,000.”

Trade forces its way, lawfully if it can, unlawfully if there be no other course. “Tis the most benefi- Trade pre-
vails.ciall trade that to Madagascar with the pirates, that was ever heard of, and I believe there’s more got that way than by turning pirates & robbing.”²

The poor governor had been duly furnished with protocols and proclamations by the phlegmatic Dutch William, but he had no ships of war to enforce the royal power about the open harbors of New York and southern New England. He perceived dimly—in his Sisyphus efforts—that great economic forces were at work sapping the weak and misdirected conduct of the royal authority. Disorder in the Indian seas begat criminal negligence and immoral trade in America.

Captain Giles Shelly lived at New York, and sailed in this Madagascar trade. Mr. Hackshaw, a London merchant, was one of his owners. Mr. De Lancey, of New York, was another. Shelly sold rum costing two shillings per gallon in New York at fifty shillings to three pounds in Madagascar ; and a £19 pipe of Madeira wine yielded £300. The same story, always repeated, when civilisation and savagery mingle. Liquors, gunpowder, and balls were the commodities wanted. Was it strange that New York could not be ruled by paper bulls when “flushed with Arabian gold and East Indian” wares ? Four ships came in one summer ; cargoes were estimated from £50,000 to £300,000 each.³ The citizens defied

¹ *Doc. N. York*, iv. 323, 381, 397.

² *Ibid.*, p. 532.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 551.

the authorities. The lieutenant governor tried to follow Bellomont's example, but had "not a man to advise with; those that are honest are not capable, and those that are capable and whose duty it is are false and corrupt." This was in 1699, and the governor's letters, so confident in the beginning, now utter one long wail of despair. He cannot stem the tide of colonial opinion. He cannot control the traders, or stop suspected expeditions.

We may imagine the relative importance of this traffic Illegitimate
larger than
lawful traf-
fic. to the colonies by some estimates of revenue made by Bellomont's officers. Illicit trade in a larger sense — *i. e.* contrary to the Navigation Acts — went on at the same time, and was kindred to that we are treating. "Unfree" bottoms from Scotland¹ and elsewhere traded in wares imported by pirates. Eastern Long or "Nassau" Island was a central port for these breakers of the law in a double sense. The revenue was estimated at £12,000 there, as against £3,000 in the port of New York, if either could have been collected.² As it was, New York paid only £1,200, and Long Island about one twelfth part of its proper amount; the figures show us how large a portion of the current commerce was exchanged in these shady but commercially desirable goods.

Rhode Island was as busy as New York in these ventures. Her shipping increased, and there was constant turmoil concerning piracies and privateering in the administration of public affairs. Bellomont complains of the Admiralty Court there as too "favourable" to piracies,³ and the "Acts of Trade" were set at naught. In Queen Anne's time, Connecticut and Rhode Island were complained of, especially the latter, where "Her Majesty's and y^e Lord High Admiral's dues are sunk"⁴ in condemning prizes.

¹ *Doc. N. York*, iv. 317.

² *Ibid.*, p. 517.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 334, 358.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1116.

Massachusetts was not so directly interested as the colonies of New York and southern New England. It was not so easy to handle the cargoes of suspected goods in the larger marts. Stamford in Connecticut was an example.¹ Major Selleck had a warehouse "close to the Sound;" he received the goods; then, as opportunity afforded, the merchants transferred them to the larger ports. The citizens of Massachusetts shared indirectly in the traffic. The larger markets were necessary to absorb the goods accumulating at Rhode Island and East Long Island. We have seen² that the pirates traded with Boston merchants and shipmasters at the latter point. Stoughton's proclamation³ in 1698 is directed especially against pirates landing there. In 1699 his Majesty⁴ treats Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, all together, for the same disease. In 1700 we have another act against piracy in Massachusetts.⁵ The frequency of statutes and proclamations shows the prevalence of the difficulty.⁶ We shall see in Quelch's case⁷ at a later date that the whole colonial atmosphere was filled with sympathy, not for piracy, but for trade growing out of outlawry.

Let us now consider the well-known affair of Captain Kidd.⁸ The business of fitting out privateers, which should contract for the proper royal office of catching pirates, and reimburse themselves out of captured piratical goods, seems farcical enough now. It had a tragical ending for Kidd. Bellomont, Somers, and other Whig magnates of William's court, thought it would be a fine speculation to send Kidd from England to the Indian Ocean to catch pirates, or rather to seize the cargo which

¹ *Doc. N. York*, iv. 793.

² See above, pp. 340, 342.

³ *Mass. Arch.*, lxii. 253.

⁴ *Mass. Arch.*, li. 103.

⁵ *Ibid.*, lxii. 332.

⁶ *Prov. Pap. N. H.*, iii. 86.

⁷ *5 M. H. C.*, vi. 110.

⁸ Palfrey, *N. E.*, iv. 180; *Mem. Hist. Boston*, ii. 173.

All New
England im-
plicated.

the pirates might have in hand. To seize a pirate under the king's commission would be about as easy and nearly as profitable as to trade for his cargo in rum at 2,900 per cent. profit. The king himself being interested in the venture would make it more certain. Kidd was recommended by Robert Livingston, of New York, as a brave and capable commander. The expedition having been fitted out in England at the expense of these noble adventurers, Kidd came to New York and beat for recruits through the town under the sanction of the royal governor, Bellomont's predecessor. It seems that the enterprise of the colonists was needed to help out the legal though sluggish energies of the courtiers in their assumption of the proper functions of the crown.

Once in the far away seas, Kidd forgot the discretion needed in a courtier-privateer, and turned into a whole pirate, as his enemies contended. He claimed that he took *The Quedah Merchant*, a rich prize belonging to the Great Mogul, while she was sailing under a French pass, and therefore a lawful capture. English politics took up the whole affair, and condemned the original warrant issued by Somers to Kidd as "an invasion of property and destructive of trade and commerce." How strange it appears now that they were so long in arriving at this sensible opinion!

Mongrel
morals and
politics. It was not so easy for poor Kidd and his coadjutor Bellomont to reaffirm the law of nations, and to vicariously suffer for the faults of privateering in their own persons. Kidd sent *The Quedah Merchant*, worth £50,000 or £60,000, to Hispaniola; came to Delaware Bay and Gardiner's Island, off Eastern Long Island, in a sloop. Livingston had given bond for him in the sum of £10,000, and claimed that Kidd would not give up the rich cargo of the Indiaman unless it was cancelled. It is curious to see how politics, economics, and mongrel trade morals are mixed up in all these transactions.

Bellmont was between two fires. The whilom adventurer in privateering, sharer with the king, had become a royal pirate-catcher himself. If he protected his old associate Kidd, his political enemies in England and the watchful burghers in Boston would condemn him. He sent a questionable safe-conduct to Kidd, who was rash enough to trust it and came with his wife to Boston. This was audacious, but it was hard to comprehend how the official atmosphere had chilled and changed toward privateering since his voyages to the East. With hue and cry they seized his treasure,—an “iron chest of gold pearls &c. 40 bails of East India goods, 13 hogsheads, chests and case, one negro and Venture Resail a Ceylon Indian.” Besides, there were £14,000 of valuables sent up from Gardiner’s Island.¹ They sent him to England, tried him in the Old Bailey, and hung him.

These were the main facts. The romance of Kidd the Pirate, which lived on beyond a century, was something more. It was a myth revealing the awakening of the colonial conscience to the true infamy, the horrors of piracy.

“ My name was Captain Kidd, as I sailed;
My sinful footsteps slid,—God’s laws they did forbid,
But so wickedly I did, as I sailed.”

We shall see the doings of Teach and his fellow-outlaws about a score of years later. The detestation of piracy in the popular mind at last crystallised itself in ditties like the above clustering about the true William Kidd. The actual man was neither a hero nor a rascal, but partook of both.

This story of unlawful adventures and adventurers would be needless if the transactions of these restless spirits had not formed an essential part of the movement of trade in those days. The colonies were more disorderly than London, East Long

¹ 5 M. H. C., vi. 7.

How
trade was
affected.

Island was more disorderly than Boston; and they were more spirited and enterprising. Kidd would not have crossed to New York for recruits for an expedition projected by the king and his partners if he had not found more courage and hardihood at Manhattan than on the Thames. Commerce moves under civic protection and legally, when it can; outside and beyond law, when bad government and conflicting civilisations drive it into illicit courses. As Bellomont wrote to the sleepy Lords at Whitehall: "The temptation is soe great to the common seamen in that part of the world where the Moores have so many rich ships and the seamen have a humour more now than ever to turne pirates."¹ Twenty-nine hundred per cent. profit in illicit trade is not to be had in any times unless the management of regular trade is very bad indeed.

This political imbecility and bad economic direction put forth its worst effects in the distant colonies. It affected the whole colonial commerce. When Quelch the pirate was hung in Boston in 1704, he warned the by-standers from the scaffold to "beware how they brought money into New England to be hanged for it."² These words would not have been uttered had there not been some ears ready to listen. Sewall and Stoughton and the better Puritan burghers might well frown at such an outlaw,—at such unrespectable immorality. But the restless crowd below,³ lustful for prize-wealth, must have sympathised with the poor devil who was caught. His prize-goods might have been a little stained, but the blood was washed off in foreign waters: resold and reshipped, these wares made lively times on the colonial docks.

We left our outward commerce in 1685 in great pros-

¹ *Doc. N. Y.*, iv. 521.

² *5 M. H. C.*, vi. 110.

³ See Palmer's "Impartial Acct." *Andros Tract*, i. 22, Prince Soc., and also Carter-Brown Lib., p. 20.

perity. The decade following the colonial recovery from the effects of Philip's war was one of the best ^{Commercial prosperity.} in our commercial history. The savages within our borders had been subdued, those without rested for the moment. The French power hovered in the valley of the St. Lawrence, eager to penetrate the fastnesses of border New England, there to inflame the barbarities of native savages with the violent energies of half-breeds, all to be directed by the skill of exiled French soldiers and gentlemen. In that fierce onset, the virtues of barbarism and the enormities of civilisation mingled together. That fearful trial had not come. Now, our villages slept peacefully and our citizens enjoyed the profitable trade their apt appropriation of free ships, and of goods illegally freed, had given them.

Violation of the Navigation Acts and illicit trade in the prize goods of questionable privateers are widely separated in modern ethical observation and perception. Not so in seventeenth century England; there they were different degrees in the same crime. Colonies might be the abodes of English men and women, but they existed for England. The umbilical cord of emigration had thrown them out, not as other Englands, but as dependencies for the creation of raw produce which the mother country would assimilate and consume.

It is commonly considered that the Revolution of 1688 narrowed the opportunities of the colonists. Politically, it did change the situation, and hence ^{Economic conditions.} the political development of the charter colonies. I do not find that the Revolution affected the colonies economically. We shall see the effects of the administration of William the Third a few years later. The economic results were the same under the vigilant activity of the popular and loyal Bellomont, or under the officious meddling of the special agent, Randolph. The party of the charter

in Massachusetts complained chiefly of the new taxes,¹ twenty pence per head poll money, a penny in the pound for goods imported; and the excise, 10s. per pipe on Madeira wine, 13s. 4d. on sherry, sack, Malaga, Muscatelle, 20s. per hhd. on brandy, rum, or other liquors.² The excise on liquors and wines was an important source of revenue; the figures were often tinkered and changed. These acts were passed in Andros's administration in 1686. Whatever their effect might have been they were not a consequence of the revolution in England. Stoughton and his fellows complained that they were discussed in the council, but afterwards published by the governor without their final assent.³ These were domestic taxes. Palmer, arguing for the crown in 1690,⁴ claims that the Acts of Navigation were better enforced by Andros, but we find little evidence that trade diminished in the illicit goods. Andros collected a better revenue by a more efficient service.

To get at the actual working of the Acts we have only to read the constant reiteration of them⁵ to The Navigation Acts. Andros, Dongan, and other governors from the home government, and to listen to the shrieks of Randolph. There are notices that they were defied and violated in 1686, 1687, 1689, and 1690.⁶ Whenever pressure was applied in favor of the Acts at the central ports, we soon find illicit cargoes appearing at some point beyond the immediate notice of the crown authorities. In 1687 "under color of a trade to Newfoundland for fish,"⁷

¹ *Andros Tract*, i. 19, Prince Society ed.

² *Mass. Arch.*, vii.

³ Stoughton and Others' *Narrative*, p. 6, Carter-Brown Library.

⁴ Palmer, *State of New England*, Carter-Brown Library.

⁵ *Doc. New York*, iii. 374; *Mass. Arch.*, vii.

⁶ *R. I. C. R.*, iii. 207; *Mass. Arch.*, exxvi. 329; *Doc. N. Y.*, iii. 582, 725; *Andros Tract*, iii. 8, Prince ed.; *Proc. M. H. S.* 1871, pp. 114-117.

⁷ There was intercourse and almost constant irritation between the

claiming it as one of his Majesty's plantations, great quantities of European goods came to New England. There appeared in Newfoundland "a magazine of all sorts of goods brought thither directly from France, Holland, Scotland, Ireland, and other places."¹

Vessels were seized, but from Governor Bradstreet's² special pleading it appears that it must have been difficult to convict them. Molasses and rice were added to the enumerated commodities in 1704.

In 1693 any coasting vessel carrying sugar, tobacco, cotton, wool, indigo, ginger, fustick, and all other dye-woods, was allowed to enter and leave any port where the above goods were grown and produced, without bond or certificate.³

The Massachusetts men alleged that measures were taken to "*damp and spoil* their *Trade*, while neither the Honour nor Treasure of the King were advanced."⁴ It was said in the French war that the supplies were cut off from England, and that the Navigation Acts prevented us from obtaining them in other countries. But the Acts could not have worked both ways. There could not have been a scarcity of European goods in New England and a "magazine" at Newfoundland and similar places about the same time. These allegations were for political effect, and had little to do with the actual movement of trade.

After 1690 the times were not so prosperous in Mas-

English and French colonies. In the Parliamentary Library at Ottawa there is a memoir of 1685 treating of the captures of English barks. They were confiscated for trading in furs, and fishing on the coast of Acadia. Many of these barks were from New England, as other documents show. And in 1699 Villebon complained that the English continued fishing and trading, notwithstanding the prohibition of the king and of the "Governor of Boston."

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, cxxvi. 329.

² *Andros Tract*, iii. 27-30, Prince ed.

³ *Mass. Arch.* lxi. 404.

⁴ Palmer, *State of New Eng.*, pp. 19, 20, Carter-Brown Lib.

sachusetts.¹ The Canada expeditions, which weighed down the resources of the British colonies for trade.² nearly three quarters of a century, began in defeat and disaster. The French were to be driven out. Governor Fletcher, of New York, voiced the sentiment of the English colonists when he said, "it seems Shameful such a handfull of Vermin Should neast themselves in that place of Canada when the King has so many Noble Colonies of British on the same Continent as would drive them all into the Sea."³

Fitz John Winthrop⁴ writes that the merchants of Boston subscribed £6,000 in one day toward the expedition, and much more was expected. The attempt failed miserably, and the gloom of it settled upon New England.⁵ The currency, always poor in kind and inadequate in amount, was made poorer by the issue of paper money.

It is probable that the profitable export trade from the colonies to France directly, or through the Mediterranean ports, had been curtailed just before this period. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes had driven out a large portion of the best producers from France.⁶ They carried culture and a knowledge of the industrial arts to other countries, but their departure weakened their own.

Yet the colonial trade went on. The mast trade, the most picturesque of all their operations, kept its fleet plying across the Atlantic. In modern engineering, the transportation of a stick of timber is a small affair; in Judge Sewall's eyes "it was a very notable sight."⁷ In 1687 he rides into the swamp at Salmon Falls to see a mighty pine, 26 in. to 28 in. in diameter, swung from its fallen place and started on its mission to the royal navy. Two and thirty oxen before, four yoke

¹ *Proc. M. H. S.*, 1878, p. 104.

² *Doc. N. York*, iii. 854.

³ *5 M. H. C.*, viii. 305.

⁴ *Belknap, N. H.*, i. 265.

⁵ *Grovestins, Louis XIV.*, vii. 107.

⁶ *5 M. H. C.*, v. 189.

beside the mast between fore and hind wheels, tug at the huge but symmetrical burden. The patient ox imbibes some intelligence from his quick-witted, clever, and kind driver. The forty animals, stimulated and marshalled by the voice and hand of their skilful guides, move as one force, dragging the massive load to the shore, where it is set afloat in a home-built vessel.

In no department of simple industry did the New England yeoman show his power and adaptability more clearly than in his management of the domestic ox. Slow but sure, wielding a massive strength, indispensable when little machine power was known, this diligent brute repaid his master's fond care and training by years of toil and the best service. When his muscles were spent, a little rest and plenteous food turned the hard thews into soft tissue ; then he yielded up his gentle life to feed the family,—a sacrifice, living or dead, to the good deities of peace and rural comfort.

Naval stores were a large item. The lieutenant governor offers his Majesty, in 1695, 150 tons rosin, 150 tons pitch and tar, 2,000 tons timber yearly. "Fly boats" from London were going constantly, especially to Piscataqua. Some were armed and some were not. The America, of 300 tons, with 4 guns and 20 men, "forraine built, made free," takes out a characteristic cargo in 1692,¹ viz., 18 masts, 9 bowsprits, 13 yards, 11,400 ft. oars, 2,900 ft. boult (pieces of wood), 25,000 staves, 84 lbs. beaver, 130 skins of small furs, 46 spars, 10 pieces ash, 2 bbls. cranberries.

Sir William Phipps² was a type of the life and commerce of this time. Hutchinson — one century nearer the subject than we are — says that he was honest, but rose "by fortunate incidents rather than by any uncommon talents" to the first position in the country. He was the first appointed royal governor of

¹ *Prov. Pap. N. H.*, ii. 80.

² *Mem. Hist. Bos.*, ii. 35.

Massachusetts. If his talents were in his incidents, he was shrewd enough to group them well. Without mental training, or that peculiar aptitude which best dispenses with regular studies, he contrived to carve his way forward, and to rise from step to step by sheer force of character and integrity. An orphan in the backwoods of Maine, he tended his mother's sheep. Lumberman, ship-carpenter, and Indian fighter, he rose to the command of a coaster. The skipper's opportunity — always a developing force — enlarged him, until his rapid voyages to England carried him in three successive years in three ascending grades of vessels. Small craft, brig, then ship appeared, and the tradition went that the wondering Britons asked if his vessels grew as he sailed.

James II. gave him an eighteen-gun ship to cruise in the West Indies to seek for prizes below the waters, possibly above the waters too. The voyage failed. The Duke of Albemarle and others fitted him out again to search for sunken treasure, and this expedition had brilliant results. Treasure to the amount of £300,000 was raised from a wreck in Hispaniola, and the money went chiefly to the adventurers in London. It shows the low tone of integrity prevailing among these courtiers that they were greatly surprised by the honesty of Phipps. That this rude frontiersman should return every penny and every jewel discovered, was almost inconceivable to these gentlemen speculators. They made him a knight, and gave his wife a gold cup worth £1,000 or more, besides his share of the prize.

Although the profits chiefly went to England, doubtless expeditions of this kind helped to stimulate New England commerce. The immediate profit of such hazardous enterprises is always overrated, but they stimulate legitimate endeavor. In sluggish and ill-informed times, they startle by their brilliancy, spread information, and draw out reluctant capital for more wholesome industries.

The West Indian commerce was a steady resource for our colonies. Invoices of fish, beef, pork, staves, horses, etc., outward, and of sugar, cotton, dye-woods, salt, anchors, etc., inward, are constantly occurring.¹ English dry goods went both ways, though the customary course was inward. In one instance the master is directed to sell his cargo in Barbadoes, and then to load with cotton and ginger for London.² Stephen Sewall,³ at Salem, gets a letter from his cousin in Barbadoes returning sugar for fish, and he sends for Mrs. Bates cotton in return for her two barrels of oil. Sampson Sheafe, in Boston, 1688, would borrow on personal or real security from his "Bro^{er} Corwin," because, having to "disburse largely both for fish and masts," he will be straitened in his "sug^r house concerns."⁴ Probably the sugar-house was in the West Indies. Assorted cargoes of produce were shipped to Campeachy.⁵

A mystic fascination marks the turn of a century in history, and we cannot pursue the common movements of trade without feeling the influence of this charm. The fish and timber of 1699 did not differ essentially from the products of the following year, but 1700 brings us into a new period. Its beginning showed few indications of that tremendous impulse to science and philosophy, or of that radical upheaval in political development, which its advancing years were to bring to it. It was soon to be big with the fate of British colonial empire in the fairest regions of North America. The seeds of these developing issues were not unnoticed. The royal governors of New England had remarked frequently upon the constant spirit of independence possessing their sturdy

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¹ *Mass. Arch.*, viii. 236; xxxvii. 90; lxi. 407, 428; *Essex Inst.*, i. 171.

² *M. Arch.*, lxi. 422-425.

³ *Letters*, Am. Ant. Soc.

⁵ *Mass. Arch.*, viii. 125.

⁴ *Curwin Papers*, Am. Ant. Soc.

Commerce
with the
West Indies.

subjects. Subject they were to the crown, loyal in feeling, but hardly obedient to the local instruments by which alone the crown could make its mandates effectual. The years did not indicate the smouldering forces forming beneath their surface. They passed quietly out of the sixes and into the sevens of the redundant and prosy official reports.

Bellomont, restless with his large powers, and half impotent with his small executive means, illustrates the thorny path of a colonial governor intent on duty and the more regular administrative ways of Europe. Though his own and his lady's gracious manner pleased the Puritans and extracted a comfortable salary from the thrifty Massachusetts purse, yet he was dissatisfied with the actual prerogatives of his office. We saw how he labored with pirates and trade in prize goods; he liked the administration of the Navigation Acts no better. Gentlemen of the council in Massachusetts, prompted by anonymous complaints laid on their table, condemned the Acts openly and fiercely,—Acts "that restrained them from an open free trade to all parts of the world."¹ They claimed to be as "much Englishmen" as those in England, and abhorred any tribute to the London merchants. Trade was depressed, and Bellomont recommended that the export of naval stores be especially encouraged. Timber was going to Portugal freely, and he feared that this "lazy and gainful" trade would help aliens and divert our own energies from the fisheries,² of which our French competitors would take advantage. He used his authority to detain vessels bound for Portugal.³ Beaver, once supreme, had "sunk to little or nothing," both in Boston and New York.

Laws condemned as unjust in the inner councils of the government would hardly be executed in any community.

¹ *Doc. N. Y.*, iv. 789.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 724, 795, 843.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 667.

Accordingly we find by the governor's report¹ that wood-boats were constantly running out from Cape Ann to take illicit merchandise from the inward-bound vessels. These agile craft soon disappeared, and carried their unlawful merchandise beyond the reach of the king's officers. The same practice prevailed under all administrations; the collector of customs² makes the same complaint in 1708. In New York, vessels were unladen under the pretence that they were leaky, and goods were secreted during the changes from ship to shore.³ At both Boston and New York, in 1700, a full third part of the trade was "directly against law."⁴

An amusing quibble was made through running vessels by way of Teneriffe, and claiming that it was not a port in Europe.⁵

In New Hampshire⁶ two mast-ships, The Supply, John Long, master, and The Fir Tree, John West, master, were not entered according to 15 Charles II. The council would not join in the lieutenant governor's warrant for their seizure, evading their responsibility. When the vessels were seized, the council freed them, and allowed them to proceed on their voyage. When New Hampshire did not resist, she gave only grudging obedience.⁷

Rhode Island increased her commerce to the West Indies, to Surinam and Curaçoa especially, in the first years of the eighteenth century.⁸ In 1692 a considerable cargo of sugar, rum, and wine was shipped in The Industrie from Boston for Rhode Island and Connecticut.⁹ For twenty years prior to 1708, writes Governor Cranston, she had

¹ *Doc. N. Y.*, iv. 792.

² *Mass. Arch.*, lxiii. 98.

³ *Doc. N. York*, iv. 144.

⁴ *Doc. N. York*, iv. 776.

⁵ *Mass. Arch.*, lxii. 239.

⁶ *Prov. Pap. N. H.*, ii. 134, 141-145.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 285, 395.

⁸ *R. I. C. R.*, v. 31.

⁹ *Mass. Arch.*, lxi. 330.

no more than four or five vessels. These were then increased to twenty-nine.¹ One merchant had four "considerable vessels" plying to the Bay of Honduras.² The adjoining Narragansett country furnished rich agricultural produce for this export trade. The tradition ran that there were ten old English clocks in that small district which were imported from Barbadoes in exchange for the produce of gentlemen's estates.³

In the West Indian trade, horses constituted an important export. A Surinam resident calls on his Salem correspondent for sixteen large young animals with long tails.⁴ Ten were sometimes shipped in one cargo.⁵ In Narragansett they were produced largely, and the smaller farmers of Connecticut furnished them freely. In 1700 a toll-book was instituted at every seaport in Massachusetts for "the better preventing the stealing of horses and horse-kind and clandestinely conveying them away."⁶ In Connecticut the "horse coursers" — *i. e.* those who rode through the country gathering droves — became seriously and almost generally implicated in these criminal practices. In 1700 a court was devoted to them especially at New London. Fines from £10 to £30 were assessed, and whippings inflicted in from ten to thirty lashes.⁷

The lumber trade was always large, and generally prospered. In 1704 the New Hampshire executive thought it would be strong enough to bear new taxes for the "advancement of the revenue."⁸

All the English governors thought much of naval stores, and tried to develop their production.⁹ They sought them directly for the royal navy,

¹ *R. I. C. R.*, iv. 58.

² *Newp. Hist. M.*, ii. 135.

³ *Narrag. Hist. Reg.*, i. 294.

⁴ *Felt, An. Salem*, ii. 250.

⁵ *Mass. Arch.*, viii. 113; lxii. 357.

⁶ *Mass. Arch.*, i. 103.

⁷ Caulkins, *New Lon.*, pp. 254, 255.

⁸ *N. H. Prov. Pap.*, iii. 291.

⁹ *Doc. N. Y.*, iv. 670, 671.

and wished to free England from its dependence on the Baltic ports for these vital elements in the commercial movement of that age. A bounty was given under the Act 3 & 4 Anne, 1706, on those exported from our colonies. This stimulated the trade, and there went from America — a large portion from New England — 9,266 bbls. pitch and tar in 1707, 6,089 bbls. in 1708, and 7,098 bbls. in 1709.¹ Activity in this trade increased the irritation always prevalent between the people and the royal officials, who tried to save the large trees marked with the broad arrow of the crown. Acts to preserve those 12 inches in diameter one foot from the ground were passed and constantly evaded.² Parliament itself reënforced these acts in 1710.³

It was easy to propose and enact in England, very hard to do and to effect in New England, in this as in all matters of legislation and administration. Governor Dudley calls, in 1707, a council in Massachusetts, and reads a letter from Mr. Bridger complaining that trees are cut contrary to the charter, and of the shipment of a great mast. But it is claimed that one Collins has the royal authority for dealing in masts. It is not proven, but ground is afforded for objection, which Judge Sewall — a “New England man” — is eager to make, much to the disgust of pliant Governor Dudley.⁴

It is difficult to fix the exact number of vessels engaged in the general commerce of New England, statistics are so scattered and uncertain. There were not as many vessels employed as in 1676.⁵ Bellomont's account in 1700⁶ and Dudley's in 1709 agree in this respect. The earl examined all the registers, and reported as belonging to Boston 25 ships 100 to 300 tons, 39 do.

Number of
vessels.

¹ Chalmer's *Revolt Am. Cols.*, i. 323.

² Belknap, *N. Hamp.*, i. 26; *Doc. N. York*, v. 175.

³ Chalmers, *Revolt*, i. 324.

⁴ 5 *Mass. H. C.*, vi. 207.

⁵ See above, p. 254.

⁶ *N. Hamp. H. C.*, iii. 142.

about 100 tons and under, 50 brigantines, 13 ketches, 67 sloops: in all 194 vessels. Other towns in Massachusetts had about 70 vessels of all kinds. New Hampshire had 11 ships of "good burthen," 5 brigantines, 4 ketches, and 4 sloops.¹ He estimates that Boston alone had, in craft above the size of herring boats, more bottoms than all Scotland and Ireland combined. The Boston shippers were the main carriers for all the plantations. According to Captain Uring, in 1709, Boston and Charlestown cleared 1,000 vessels annually.² Bellomont mentions lumber and horses with respect, but "the staple" in Massachusetts is the fisheries. Codfish consists of three sorts, "merchantable, midling and refuse." The first grade went to all parts of the world, chiefly to Catholic Europe; the second was consumed at home or in their own vessels; the third was eaten by the slaves in the West Indies.

The number of vessels reported by Dudley³ nine years later does not vary materially for Massachusetts; viz., 20 ships over 100 tons, 60 do. between 50 and 100 tons, 120 smaller vessels for trade to the West Indies, "which must demand a thousand sailors, as near as I can set it, besides a like number of all sorts built every two years for merchants of London and elsewhere." In this latter item we must look for the great and expanding factor which constantly swelled the profits and accumulating capital of our commerce. A fleet selling itself every second year at the highest prices, in markets needing ready-made vessels, was pouring a constant harvest of the world's products upon our rocky shores. Fish and timber, assorted cargoes, and handy vessels, rigged, fitted, and delivered to declining Spain and Portugal, to war

¹ *Doc. N. York*, iv. 790.

² For details of vessels registered in Salem see Felt's *Annals*, ii. 247, 252.

³ Palfrey, iv. 327, cited from *Br. Col. Papers*.

possessed France, and to busy growing England,—these commercial advantages commanded the resources of the whole world in favor of our energetic colonists.

This circle of legitimate industry is well illustrated in the rise of the Pepperell family,¹ whose most distinguished representative, afterwards Sir William, was now trading and directing shipbuilding on the Piscataqua. The robust frame which carried his great heart through the Louisburg campaign, the muscular arm which wielded a marshal's baton where British generals had failed, was developed in handling fish and swinging anchors at Kittery Point. The genius of circumstance, the power of adaptability,—almost always lacking in European strategy on this continent,—was bred out of the comprehensive experience of the American merchant, shipper, and builder. From close contact with nature and man in his home, from wide intercourse with the world across foreign seas, he learned to master difficulty in peace, until he became the natural leader of his country's forces in war.

Like many other less known names, the Pepperells dealt very extensively in the same wares. One hundred or more vessels of their own, mostly fishing on the Banks, brought "the staple" into the Piscataqua River. A new ship was loaded with fish and forest products to the West Indies, Portugal, and the Mediterranean, or England itself. The cargo found a ready market. Perhaps the vessel itself was sold; if not, she was freighted elsewhere. The main portion of the proceeds was converted into London exchange. The few English goods needed—especially cordage, iron, hemp, and fishing tackle—were brought home. The main factor, exchange on London, was sold to Boston merchants for wares needed at Piscataqua, or provincial paper currency. The money was poor, but land was

¹ Parsons, *Life of Pepperell*, pp. 22 et seq.

abundant and cheap, always to be had for this indifferent circulating medium.

The industrious men and women. Naval stores, beginning to diminish in New England, came up from the Carolinas¹ to assist the work. I said the new ship began this work of exchange with foreign countries. She rather continued it. While the lines were trawling and the codhooks were bobbing off Newfoundland for her cargo, she was being put together by the carpenters and handy mechanics at home. These men saw little money — poor as it was — for their labor. West India sugar and rum, home produce, a few dry goods, — in fact all their immediate and necessary consumption, — was dealt out to them in return for their labor. The whole community in these busy seaports breathed a commercial atmosphere. The women — capable, thrifty, and prudent — helped to manage this provincial huckstering. The Pepperell women saved their pin-money and sent little ventures in the argosies which floated the baronial treasures of the family into foreign ports. The leaders of society led in trade and prudential management. The men broadened their estate in lands, while their helpmates economised the household and turned plenty into comfort.

Shipbuilding. The shipbuilding industry, begun by Winthrop, was fostered and watched by the colonists as a vital part of their prosperity. Whenever the work deteriorated, the authorities did not wait for it to amend itself, but were quick to inspect and remedy the defects. In 1698 it was enacted that no ship of more than thirty tons could be built "unless under the direct supervision of a competent shipwright."² This inspector was appointed by a justice of the peace in the county where the keel was laid. Offenders were fined. Contracts³ were carefully drawn, and specified the conditions for builder

¹ *Doc. N. York*, iv. 834.

² *Mass. Arch.*, lxii. 294-296.

³ *Mass. Arch.*, lxii. 70, 328, 397.

and purchaser. They were not obligations of straw, for we find Edward Johnson, a builder, arrested for breaking one in 1700. William Partridge, a native of Portsmouth, was a famous mechanic and shipwright. He contracted on a large scale, finally becoming treasurer and lieutenant governor of New Hampshire.¹ A few of the vessels were of large burden: one of 400 tons was launched in 1693 from Brill's wharf, Boston.² A "fly boat" or "hag boat" was 250 tons burden,³ more or less. But a large proportion of the craft were under 100 tons. It surprises us constantly to see the many and long voyages in ketches and shallops of 15 and 20 tons.

Prices for building and equipping vessels were lower at the end of the century than in the period before 1676, or about that time. We found an exceptional case in 1661, costing £3 5s. per ton.⁴ Randolph quoted the general price in 1676 at £4. In 1686 Peter Bowdoin sold a small craft of 20 tons for £20.⁵ In 1697 we have 50s. per ton paid for 82 feet keel; in 1700, £3 12s. per ton for 72 feet keel; in 1701, 53s. for 45 feet keel;⁶ in 1712, £3 per ton for the ship Betty.⁷ We do not find the gradual change in prices we might expect from the expansion of the currency. The above figures are presumed to be for cash, as no barter is stipulated, but goods were often taken in payment at agreed prices. Colonel Heathcote in 1711⁸ gave the Board of Trade some estimates on rope, rigging and sailcloth, to be made from colonial-grown hemp and flax, which were problematical. But he was a better authority on two-inch oak plank, to be had at 2s. 6d. to 3s per hundred feet, although the crown ships paid 7s. to 9s. when it was furnished. He quoted the hulls of vessels without iron-work at £1 10s.

Prices for ships.

¹ Adams, *Portsmouth*, p. 102; Belknap, *N. H.*, i. 297.

² *M. H. C.*, v. 385.

³ *Prov. Pap. N. H.*, ii. 80.

⁴ See above, p. 253.

⁵ *N. E. H. & G. Reg.*, v. 35, 165.

⁶ *Mass. Arch.*, lxii. 70, 328, 397.

⁷ *Essex Inst.*, i. 175.

⁸ *Doc. N. York*, v. 308.

per ton for 30 to 100 tons, £1 15s. for 100 to 150 tons, £2 for 150 to 250 tons, £2 10s. for 250 to 350 tons, £2 15s. to £3 for larger vessels. The government took The Swan in 1691 at an appraised value of £1,772 17s. 4d. The hull of ship, iron-work, etc., stood at £979; 6 "tun" of standing and running rigging, £120; two 260-fathom cables and two coils of rope, £193 4s.; 98 cwt. of guns, etc., £133 10s.; mainsail, foresail, maintopsail, £50; all other things, £297 3s. 4d.¹ The ship Swallow, including sails and equipment, was valued at £500 in 1691.² Wait Winthrop, in 1695 estimated $\frac{5}{16}$ of Captain Shugan's ship on the way from Barbadoes to London at £300 or £400 net. Valuations appear now and then in Boston inventories: in 1687 John Williams owned $\frac{5}{6}$ of the brigantine Anna and Mary at £90; in 1699 Peter Butler had $\frac{1}{16}$ of the ship John and Ann at £50, and $\frac{2}{3}$ of sloop Adventure at £100.³ A memento of an old Massachusetts family appears in the sale by Peter Bowden (Pierre Boudouin), in 1686, of the "barque or small ship of about 20 tons, "ye John Cately of Dublin."⁴ The government employed The Seaflower express to England in 1704; her "cargo and victual" cost £410 15s. 3d.⁵ Expenses of rigging the Speedwell in 1690 may be found below.⁶

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, xxxvii. 85-87. Interesting details of work on Swan are in lxi. 297.

2 5 M. H. C., viii.

⁸ *Suffolk Probate Rec.*, x. 340; xiv. 148.

⁴ *N. E. H. & G. Reg.*, xxxv, 165.

⁶ *Mass. Arch.*, lxii, 432.

⁶ Mass. Arch., xxxv, 376 :—

<i>Expenses of the Sloop Speedwell.</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
For cordings, etc.	122	18	10
For the smith's bill	12	14	2
For the mason's bill		15	6
For the carpenter's bill	3	12	5
For the blockmaker's bill	5	15	8
For the carver's bill	3	15	
For sundry disbursements		4	
For rigging the sloop		3	
	£156	11	7

Toward the end of the century, the business was pursued in all the places mentioned already, and seems to have been extended into smaller and less known localities. Joseph Wanton¹ moved to Tiverton, R. I., in 1688, and built extensively there; his descendants followed him at Newport for several generations. In Newport by 1712 a great number of shipwrights are mentioned by name,² — Ralph Chapman, James Sheffield, Benjamin Belcher, John Beere, Daniel Lambert, Robert Taylor, Thomas Swinburne, James Easton, George Cook, and many others. These men led the enterprises of their community, and met at the "Kings-Head Tavern," kept by Timothy Whiting, where they exchanged news and the newest ideas in their craft. In 1690 the Barstows began at Hanover,³ Mass. In 1696 a yard appears at Braintree,⁴ and in 1698 Gloucester⁵ built her first ship. The custom of apprenticeship was continued; one person binds himself to a sailor for the term of four years.⁶

Wages for seamen, as well as for handcraftsmen and laborers on shore, were higher in the colonies than in Europe. Her Majesty's men-of-war, wintering in our ports, were wont to lend out their crews for two to four months to work on shore. This practice increased the facility and the inclination to desert. A comparatively small vessel often lost from forty to sixty of her crew when she attempted to sail in the spring.⁷ Ordinary wages were £6 per month for the captain,⁸ £4 for chief mate, £1 15s. to £2 15s. per month for the men.

Freight⁹ out from London was generally £3 per ton,

¹ *R. I. Hist. Tracts*, iii. 12.

² *Newport Hist. Mag.*, ii. No. 4, p. 243.

³ Barry, p. 19.

⁴ Pattee, p. 493.

⁵ Babson, p. 249.

⁶ *Mass. Arch.*, lxi. 294.

⁷ *Doc. N. York*, v. 194.

⁸ *Mass. Arch.*, lxii. 51; lxiii. 80; and *Essex Inst.*, i. 121.

⁹ Roberts, *Merchants' Map*, p. 450.

and ten shillings higher on the return voyage. Some goods paid £4 to London; £3 to £3 10s. was paid to Barbadoes.

A vessel could make two trips in the year to England, but it was seldom done.¹ Occasionally we find Methods of foreign commerce. an old invoice complete. These fossil remains

of commerce alone can reveal to us the merchant and the factor satisfying the wants of thrifty consumers. We can see the factor selecting his cargo, buying his goods, packing his cases, paying his fees, charging his commissions and prime, paying the small balance due the merchant to the captain, and wishing him Godspeed on his voyage home. On the twenty-sixth of August, 1703, Richard Lechmere despatches £158.9.11 worth of goods as follows: "Invoyce of Sundry Merchandise Ship't on board y^e Speedwell Eliezer Lindsey M^r. for New England for y^e proper acco^t & Risque of M^r. Deliverance Parkeman Merchant there and Consigned to himself."² The wares are similar in character to those handled by John Hull a generation earlier. Nails begin the list, and two casks of Cheshire cheeses end it. A bale of "broad-cloaths" contains "blew" and "sad Coll^r" in coarse quality, finer "Browne" at 4s. 2d., and drab at 4s. 3d. per yard; the inevitable blue and brown "Ozenbrigs" at 8d. per yard, with five pieces "Derry & Garletts" at 30s. the piece; "Coltchest^r browne Bay," 52 ells Flemish at 14½d.; fine serge, on which the dyeing and finishing is charged separately. The purchasing commission of two and one half per cent. is charged on each package or lot of goods. The package, of whatever kind, box or "trunk, matt & cordes," is charged especially. Some packages have an item for "Drawing, Packing, Canvis, Ropes, &c." On each lot there is a charge for "Custom fees, Serchers, wharfidg & Boat hire;" a formula varying in amount

¹ Felt *An. Salem*, ii. 248.

² Curwin MS., Am. Ant. Soc.

with the bulk, but not strictly according to the value of the goods. It is 7s. on £28.3 of dry goods, and 13s. 6d. on £9.17.2 of hardware.

Men's felt hats at 22d., boys' do. at 14d., with two qualities of men's castors at 4s. and 4s. 6d., complete the assortment of generally useful dry goods. "Sundry Stuffs" would be classed as elegant and luxurious: 5 pieces "mixt Estimains" at 18s.; 5 pieces worsted "fan-ceys" at 19s.; 5 pieces damask at 28s.; a little silk crape and flowered "Russells," the whole trunk of stuffs costing £28.17. In the same category, but packed in "y^e Capt^{ns} Trunk," was a half piece of "new flowered Satten 21 yds. at 6s. 6d. and 18 yards Skye & w^t flowerd Damaske at 6s. both amounting to £12.13.2." These latter, with the sundry stuffs,—all elegant fabrics,—make up £41.10.2, a little more than one fourth of the whole shipment.

Almost every transfer of merchandise included some codhooks and lines. This invoice brought seven dozen lines, and five gross of hooks, at 9s. and 11s. per pound for either size. A bag of pepper and an assorted hogshead of "Lattin"—*i. e.* brass or other sheet-metal ware—completed the shipment. Each package or lot of goods paid "boat hire," which shows how essential the Thames waterman was to the primitive commerce of those days.

The mainspring of this importing business on the seas and these commercial industries on the shores was in "dry" or salted fish.^{Demand for fish.} Sawing lumber, building and freighting vessels, constituted commerce, as illustrated in the business of the Pepperells. But the impelling motive to cut timber, or to lay a keel, was in the immediate return always ready and waiting for a projected cargo of fish. Ashley, in treating of the American trade in 1709,¹ says that 300 sail or 30,000 tons of shipping

¹ *Bollam, Cape Breton*, p. 19. .

was annually employed from Newfoundland, New England, and Nova Scotia in carrying fish to Portugal, Spain, and Italy. This fleet was manned by about 2,700 seamen, and was estimated to return to Great Britain by "a circulation of trade" about £260,000 annually. He computed that about two thirds of the product of fish and its resulting trade was derived from Newfoundland alone. The coasts of New England proper still yielded fish, but the myriad shoals, then as now, swarmed over the Eastern banks. Of this large product our colonial fishermen took a large and constant share.

Small ketches and shallopss went upon the Banks,
The fish-
eries. dropped the lines and baited the hooks which
Mr. Deliverance Parkeman imported, and which
some Salem or other fishing merchant had bought to fur-
nish forth his vessels. "Poor Jack," the greedy-mouthed
cod, was at his best in June, or the spring season; Octo-
ber being the best month for the fall fishing. A quintal
or cwt. was sold generally for 28 to 30 and 32 reals.¹ The
currency shows the relative importance of Portugal in
this trade. Bilboa was the ordinary port of export when-
ever the frequent Spanish wars did not close its gates.
"Maycerils" are mentioned late in the century, and were
abundant in Massachusetts Bay after its turn.² One
thousand barrels in a season was a common catch for a
vessel. But this silvery and mottled swimmer, graceful
as he was, could not compete in Catholic Europe with our
homely cod. He was sent to the West Indies with the
third grade or refuse cod for the negroes. France was
beginning to take "Barrel Cod."³

In the period under consideration, the wars with the French and Indians damaged, sometimes almost destroyed, the fishing interest. John Higginson, of Salem, writing

¹ Roberts, *Merchant's Map of Commerce*, p. 449.

² Deane, *Scituate*, p. 25.

³ Roberts, *Map Com.*, p. 449.

to his brother in 1697,¹ declares that his "competent estate" acquired in fishing has been diminished by "considerable losses." The town had between 60 and 70 ketches at work, and only six were left by these active and vexatious enemies. In 1699² the governor of Massachusetts gave passes for fishing to 14 sloops and ketches, generally of 25 to 36 tons, and employing five to six men; one vessel rated at 40 tons. In 1710 the same enemy oppressed these bold and patient toilers, and they were calling for an armed vessel to convoy them at their work.³ Meanwhile, trade between our colonies and Newfoundland with the adjacent coasts increased through all these vicissitudes. M. de Goutier, in 1705, stated that even the exchanges of prisoners facilitated the introduction of English merchandise into Canada. In 1711⁴, the Canadian authorities made a report on the commerce and importance of New England, and the necessity of checking it.

Although the Indian trade was decaying, a proposition was made by a committee to establish trading houses on the Kennebec River and on the Merrimack River in 1699,⁵ and to increase the "trading stock to £1,000."⁴

We noted an increase of naval facilities, and the opening of new ports of entry, in 1685. These did not suffice for the erratic trade the Navigation Acts attempted to control. In 1698 the General Court enacted,⁵ for preventing "undue and unlawful trading, and of frauds and abuses in duties and impositions," that Boston including Charlestown, Salem including Marblehead, Ipswich, Newbury including Salisbury, Kittery, Plymouth, and Bristol, and no others, shall be lawful ports, the only ports for lading and unlading goods. I annex the fees prevailing at the custom house in 1686,

¹ Felt, *An. Salem*, ii. 214.

² *Ibid.*, p. 215.

³ *Mass. Arch.*, lxiii. 167.

⁴ *Mass. Arch.*, cxix. 168.

⁵ *Ibid.*, lxii. 248-250.

and the rates for wharfage in 1692.¹ Powder money was an important fee, and it was charged frequently in the various ports. The selection and sanction of these particular ports does not seem to have changed the course of trade, regular or irregular, for in 1701 we have an act for "a naval office in every port for the entering and clearing of vessels."² In the same year every shipmaster was required, under a penalty of £5, to report to the naval officer in any port "a list or certificate of all passengers, as

¹ 1686. *Mass. Arch.*, exxvi. 274 :—

Fees for the Custom House.

Vessels inward bound :—	£ s. d.
Every vessel's entry not exceeding 40 tons	3.6
If above 40 tons	5.0
For a permit to unload	1.0
For an oath upon a master's entry & clearing . . . . .	.6
Total	10 shil.

Vessels outward bound :—	£ s. d.
Every vessel's entry to load	1.0
Every vessel's clearing not exceeding 40 tons	3.6
If above 40 tons	5.0
For a bond for his Majesty's use	5.0
For a certificate that bond is given	5.0
" " " to take up a bond	5.0
For registering and discharging a bond . . . . .	.6
For registering a certificate . . . . .	.6
Total	1.56

These fees were slightly modified in 1701. *Mass. Arch.*, lxii. 385.

1692. Wharfage. It was enacted by the General Court that persons bringing goods to wharves should observe the following rates :—

Timber per ton, 4d.; wood per cord, 4d.; pipe-staves per M. 9d., and so in proportion with other staves; boards per M. 8d.; merchants' goods per ton, 6d.; dried fish per quintal, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; corn per quarter, $1\frac{1}{2}$ d.; great cattle per head, 2d.; swine and other cattle per head, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; hay, straw, and other combustible goods per load, 6d.; cotton wool per bag, 2d.; stones per ton, 1d. *Mass. Arch.*, lxi. 343.

² *Mass. Arch.*, lxii. 385.

well servants as others, and their circumstances, so far as he knows.”¹

All vessels were registered and described ; an oath was recorded that no foreigner was interested directly or indirectly.² Before 1705 ships carrying Englishmen for three quarters part of their crew were exempted or favored in the customs ; after that date the favor was extended to vessels having the master and one half of the crew English.³

In 1697, by decree of the General Court, the Cape Cod Canal was cut, on paper, through “the land at Sandwich from Barnstable Bay, so called, into Monument Bay.”⁴

Cape Cod
paper canal.

We have seen that the “wood boats” added to their natural and legitimate vocation the conveyance of goods irregularly imported. They became guerillas in the great campaign of the Navigation Acts, thorns in the side of the loyal Bellomont, or any other governor. They were types of the vessels ready to carry wood or any other merchandise. Small craft were moving at all times, in all directions, with all kinds of loads, along the colonial shores. In 1693 John Johnson, of Salem,⁵ boated goods to and from Boston “sometimes twice a week ;” the fee of 4s. 6d. for entering and clearing at Boston was oppressive in his small trade.

The cargoes of these coasters were similar, one with another, generally of raw produce moving into Boston, or of miscellaneous articles, more or less assorted for trade, moving outward : From Noralwolck (Norwalk) to Boston,⁶ 80 bushels winter wheat, 82½ bushels Indian corn, 10 bbls. pork, 8 do. beef. From Boston to Portsmouth the sloop Endeavour, of Boston,⁷ 20

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, lxii. 362.

² *Ibid.*, vii. 423.

³ *Prov. Pap. N. H.*, iii. 304.

⁴ *Mass. Arch.*, lxii. 225.

⁵ *Felt, Annals*, ii. 244.

⁶ *Mass. Arch.*, lxi. 306.

⁷ *Prov. Pap. N. H.*, ii. 81.

tons, Paul Miller master, carried two hhds. corn, 3 bags sheep's wool, 3 trunks household goods, "1 tunn of ship beare," 50 tanned hides, 3 bbls. beef, 6 bbls. pork, 9 bags wheat, 2 bbls. flour, "several other small parcells English goods and household stufte." It will be remarked, this is a cargo of assorted supplies going from a trading centre to a manufacturing district; sundry articles of commerce distributed to the industry of shipbuilding. It is a type of much freighting. Other vessels would be carrying English goods in the opposite direction, and thus the small colonial markets would be relieved of excess in any one article, and assorted according to the needs of their consumers.

The Southern or plantation — using the word in our ^{Southern} modern sense — States began early to confine products. their agriculture to a few great staples. Virginia and Maryland produced tobacco chiefly in the early eighteenth century. They bought from New England rum, molasses, salt, wine, sugar, cider.¹ Some agricultural produce was returned to Boston and Salem, but one cargo from the former port to Virginia in 1710 carried 11,183 lbs. pork, 690 bushels corn, 207 bushels wheat.² The Roanoke country was the frontier. In 1707 saddles and bridles were sent from New England to be exchanged, at "40s. or under per saddle and bridle, for pork, pitch, tar, wheat, Indian corn, or what else the country produceth."³

Commerce abroad, the going down to the sea in great ships, fills the eye and keeps the attention of observers and recorders. Annals and histories both discourse upon the large voyages rather than trips along the shore. But these skipping trips, this coasting by ketch and shallop, nourished and carried the colonial life, beating and throbbing steadily, from port to

¹ Felt, *An. Salem*, ii. 246; *Essex Inst.*, i. 172, 173.

² *Mass. Arch.*, lxiii. 176.

³ *Ibid.*, lxiii. 88.

port. Civilisation may subdue the land by roads, sure ways of travel, easy paths for man — and for beast before steam led in iron beasts on iron ways. But long before roads could be made effective for transport and conveyance in the half-subdued lands of the colonies, roadsteads were the basis of communication. Harbors were the variable but positive factors in the interchange of necessities, the spread of information, the transfer of passengers who urged forward intercourse. Riding at anchor was even a greater economic factor than riding by horse. Centaurs made the warlike ideal of pre-Homeric combats ; but Phœnician galleys creeping carefully from harbor to harbor carried light and civilisation through the known world. The Mediterranean joined the dreamy East to the energetic West, bearing upon its broad bosom the best fruits of the elder nations, and carrying art with wider knowledge into remote regions occupied by younger and more vigorous peoples. All the better parts of the nations were stimulated and lifted by this wholesome exchange. Neither party was a loser in this barter of ideas. The culture of the enlightened states engrafted itself easily and naturally on the ruder energies of the more backward peoples. Wherever and whenever, in the history of the world, commerce has kept its currents in motion along the shores of the land, there plenty has reigned and the happiness of mankind has been greatly increased. Neither water nor land, ocean nor continent, alone and of itself, has brought out the best qualities of humanity. Intercourse and free communication, interchange of the one with the other, has promoted the higher destinies of the human race.

The little roadsteads, safe havens nestling in bays and river mouth, from Piscataqua around the Cape and Rhode Island, through the Sound to Milford Haven, were the true abiding - places of that strong commercial current which tided in and out of New England, and

gave force and direction to the domestic development on shore. The same coasters with longer stretch went on through New York to Virginia and Maryland.

Greater and lesser commerce. Roanoke and the Carolinas were netted in, for

naval stores were growing scarce on our accessible rivers, and the interior was dominated by French and Indian savages. Phipps and the other vikings went across the great deep, but along its shores the skipper mariner carried the same blood, nerve, endurance, and skill in myriads of small voyages, which transmitted into the homely traffic of the land the grand commerce of the seas.

CHAPTER X.

DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE DARK DAYS.

1690-1713.

THE colonial mind, as I have stated,¹ was prepared for experiments in currency, and for attempts to manufacture money values through some new and easy medium of exchange. Opportunity only was needed to embody these fancies, and to put them forth in schemes for turning the public credit into money. It came through the public necessity, and through the void in the treasury caused by the failure of Phipps's expedition against Canada. The expedition had cost Massachusetts £50,000. The General Court, December 10, 1690, in issuing the first £7,000 of bills of credit from 5 shillings to 5 pounds, enumerated the difficulties under which the country labored in consequence of its misfortunes. Moreover, it laid especial emphasis on "the present poverty and calamities of the country, and through scarcity of money the want of an adequate measure of commerce." Inflation of the currency has frequently assumed these deceptive forms and appeared in this specious guise whenever the restless debtor has found his burden oppressive.

Need for currency in Massachusetts.

This simple view of a stringent money market was disputed by Judge Sewall in the record² made twenty-two years after the event. He opposed further issues of bills in 1712. He stated then that he was conversant with all the

¹ See above, p. 330.

² 5 *M. H. C.*, vi. 366.

transactions of the first issue, and claimed that the bills were not made "for want of money," but "for want of money in the treasury." It was merely a forced loan. "He that has Bills may want everything else." Similar expedients had failed in Barbadoes, had produced disorder there and almost a revolution. "If moneuy be wanting, 't were a better expedient to oblige Creditors to take Wheat, Ind. Corn, Salt, Iron, Wool, at a moderat valuation, as 't was of old : Then there would be *Quid pro Quo* ; whereas now privat Creditors are forc'd to take the publick Faith for payment for their Comodity. The Merchants that complain of the Scarcity of Money, 't is they that have sent it away, and do send it away."

The act passed in 1712 was a legal tender act, making bills of credit current for all transactions not otherwise specified in writing. Probably none of the Massachusetts legislators in 1690 foresaw the results pictured in Sewall's account. Instability of the government appeared to be the chief cause of the discount — some 33 per cent. — which prevailed as soon as the bills were issued. The economic defects of the currency, though actually at work, were hardly apprehended then. Sewall's observations were dictated by his experience of the practical working of the provincial bills. After a century and three quarters of further experience in the same direction, running through many forms and devices of public credit, we can add little to the wisdom of Sewall's judgments. The bills,¹ soon followed by those of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, were all of one import. They were receivable for public dues, and were to be "in value equal to money." They soon dropped to fourteen, to sixteen

¹ 1690, *Proc. M. H. S.* 1862, p. 428. *Bill of Credit*, No. (4980).
5'. This Indented bill of Five shillings, due from the Massachusetts Colony to the Possessor shall be in value equal to : money & shall be accordingly accepted by the Treasurer & receivers subordinate to him in all publick payments and for any Stock at any time in the

shillings in the pound,¹ owing to the "idle suspicions Depreciation begins of the ignorant," according to Cotton Mather.

But the suspicions of the untutored many are frequently sound economically. Sir William Phipps, smarting under failure in the field and in administration at home, generously redeemed large sums of the paper in hard coin from his own purse. Neither spasmodic payments of coin, nor unlimited patriotism flowing abundantly could maintain a fiat money at par. The soldiers and their families suffered chiefly, as they were paid in this poor medium.

The General Court of Massachusetts helped the credit of the bills by an act in 1692 making them current in all payments, and allowing a bonus of five per cent. upon them when paid into the public treasury. This kept them at par with coin for about twenty years,² as it was a positive redemption. The amount issued in 1690 and 1691 was £40,000; from 1692 to 1702, about £110,000. These are the estimates of Mr. Felt,³ and include the reissues. The amount "made and received into" the treasury of Massachusetts, 1703-1714, was £194,950.13.

Treasury— : Boston in New England December the 10th, 1690 : By order of y^e General Court.

JOHN PHILLIPS
ADAM WINTHROP
RUN TOWNSEND
Committee.



SIGILVM: GVB: & SOC*:
DE: MATTACHVSETS: BAY.
IN: NOV: ANGL:

And see *Col. Rec. Conn.* 1689, p. 111.

¹ Mather, *Magnalia*, ii. 52, 55, cited by Palfrey, iv. 58.

² Felt, *Mass. Currency*, p. 52. ³ *Mass. Currency*, pp. 56, 66.

It is interesting to note the rates¹ fixed in 1690 for country pay, the ancient currency, which had carried the incipient industries of the colonies through their first struggles: Wheat 4s. 6d. Indian Corn 3s. Barley and Barley Malt 4s. (No barley to pass after the first of April.) Pease 4s. Oats. 18d. Sealed Pork £3 per bbl. Sealed Beef 36s. per bbl. Country pay did not cease entirely. A Springfield collector damaged 130 bushel of peas in transport for the Province in 1693, by wetting them in the Falls of the Connecticut. Felt puts the last collections of rates in produce, with a few exceptions, in the year 1694. New Hampshire took produce in the rates in 1704.² The town of Hadley³ paid its debts in grain until 1707 or later. In 1709 it used Province bills. Connecticut made its rates⁴ in 1710: Wheat 6s. Rye 3s. 6d. Ind. Corn 2s. 6d. Pork £3 15s. per bbl. Beef £2 5s. Towns made salaries payable partly in silver and partly in merchandise after the general produce rate had ceased.⁵

Specie was not driven out entirely by the paper money. Money scales were common in private houses, and plate was weighed up like bullion in the inventories. William Phipps⁶ had 1,244 oz. or £415 in 1696. In Captain Roger Lawson's effects, in 1709,⁷ 90 $\frac{3}{4}$ oz. "Coined silver" and 129 $\frac{7}{8}$ oz. "wrought silver" are all accounted for at 8s. per oz. The Province could collect £675 in the old pine-tree coinage to remit to London in 1694.⁸ As usual in maintaining a forced currency, the authorities made frantic efforts to keep the precious metals at home. Massachusetts passed a stringent act against exporting

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, xxvi. 218.

² *N. H. Prov. Pap.*, ii. 451.

³ Judd, p. 210.

⁴ *Col. Rec. Conn.*, 1710, p. 186.

⁵ Bliss, *Rehoboth*, p. 132; *Hist. Framingham*, p. 44; *Maine H. C.*, i. 265.

⁶ *Suffolk P. R.*, xi. 201.

⁷ *Suffolk P. R.*, xvi. 591.

⁸ Felt, *Mass. Currency*, p. 54.

coin or bullion in 1697.¹ No person could carry out of the Province more than £5 for his necessary expenses. This act appears to have been enforced better than is customary in such cases. For Wait Winthrop,² writing to his brother Fitz John in England in ¹⁶⁹⁹ ₁₇₀₀, speaks of the great difficulty in making remittances. The master of every vessel sailing was sworn against infringing the specie exportation act. Winthrop's difficulty was in getting exchange. "If mony be ready here, 't is difficult to get bills or other returns."

The money troubles of New England were not simple. Beyond the difficulties of a meagre currency in domestic transactions, and of the want of exchange in foreign commerce, was the constant difficulty of a shifting and fluctuating value of coin and bullion, as it passed from port to port and from hand to hand, in the operations of trade. As the solid men of Boston tied their wallets and fought for the possession of pine-tree shillings and West India tankards against the richer men of Europe, so the London burghers cherished their sacred sovereign or pound sterling. English sterling money was a figment and mere medium of expression in the colonies; kept at home by a narrow policy, it hardly entered into actual transactions. It is not the only case in which England has overshot the mark in dealing with other countries and other races.

The natural place of English standard coin was taken by the old Spanish and Mexican piece of $\frac{8}{15}$, or eight reals.³ This mighty coin is one of the

Fluctuating values of specie.

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, ci. 106.

² *5 M. H. C.*, viii. 569.

³ In 1704 there were four standards of currency in every-day dealing, according to Madam Knight. Her observations were made in the shore towns of Connecticut, doubtless typical of all the remote districts of New England. They were, "Pay," "Mony," "Pay as Mony," "Trusting," or credit in account. "Pay" was a barter in grain, beef, pork, or other produce at prices fixed for the current year by the General Court. "Mony" was specie, principally pieces

few things of substance on which the Latin and Teutonic races have united for action in that social sphere which is broader and deeper than the political action and agreement of governments. Equivalent to the German “*thaler*” and the Dutch “*daler*,” it was the original of the American “*dollar*.” The commercial influence of this latter coin can hardly be overestimated. It has subdued half a continent, and brought a great polyglot of races to a high standard of civilisation; it has carried great wars through to success, and has made itself the basis of as strong a government credit as the world has ever known.

The piece of eight was the true medium of exchange; they quoted in sterling, but very little English money changed hands. Jonathan Curwin, at Salem, in 1688, directing Elias Parkman, master of a ketch bound for Cadiz, tells him to dispose of his three quintals of small codfish, and to bring “my effects home” “in pss. $\frac{8}{3}$ either pillar, Civill (Seville) or Mexican.”¹ They did not agree as to the value. Randolph says to Mr. Povey, about the same time, “Some would have all peeces of 8, tho’ of 15 pennyweight, go at 6s. New England, others at 17; but they stand at 17 $\frac{1}{2}$. Our money goes all away.”²

This fluctuating value of their most active coin continued to annoy the colonists, New York being the chief sufferer, if we may judge from the complaints. In 1703 Lord Cornbury urged upon the Board of Trade, as other governors had done, that there should be a standard establishing coin at the same rates in all the colonies. He reported a piece of eight, of 17 pennyweights, as passing at 6s. 9d. in New York, in

of 8, or Bay shillings, or wampum in small sums for change. “Pay as Mony” was barter in the above proude at one third off the General Court rates. “Trusting” was a credit agreed for each transaction. Mad. Knight’s *Journal*, p. 156.

¹ Letters in MS., Am. Ant. Soc.

² Hutchinson Pap., iii. 300.

Philadelphia at 7s. 6d. New York could keep no "heavy money."¹ Colonel Robert Quary writes in the same year that the proposed measure would promote general prosperity, and especially would prevent specie from going out of Virginia and Maryland into the proprietary governments. He quotes exchange "in some places thirty, forty, and in Pennsylvania fifty per cent. worse than sterling."² The proposed standard would in his opinion counteract this, and cause the specie to centre in England instead. Wages in the proprietary governments were apparently much higher on account of the differing standards.

After much discussion at home and in the plantations the queen in 1704 proclaimed Sir Isaac Newton's scheme establishing the standard of old Seville, Mexican, and Pillar pieces of eight at 17 pennyweights 12 grains in weight, and at 6s. value, with other foreign coins in proportion.³ Governor Dudley announced that it was done in the "most solemn" manner, and he hoped for an end of all "clipping of money." In the following year he proclaimed, the General Court confirming, that clipping continued, and therefore payments "by Tale" should cease unless money was of due weight; all other should pass by weight at 7s. per oz. troy.

Alas for the knowledge of Newtons and the administrative skill of Dudleys in the artificial regulation of standards of value! Captain Thomas Wenham writes from New York January 9, 170⁵, that the very measure they had been praying for "would certainly ruin these parts."⁴ He thought the resulting troubles would have been avoided if the small pieces had not been weighed, but allowed to pass as tokens. Then the standard of the piece of eight was too high at $17\frac{1}{2}$ dwt. "when not one piece in a hundred weighs so much." New York had not "staple commodities" enough to pay for its English

¹ *Doc. Col. N. York*, iv. 1059.

² *Ibid.*, iv. 1047.

³ *Felt, Mass. Currency*, p. 59.

⁴ *Doc. Col. N. York*, iv. 1119.

imports, and "if noe cash among us, no trade." The New Yorkers of that day did not perceive that defects in a currency are aggravated by a lack of capital. As usual in changes of currency and of exchange, the rich profited. Boston was the richer port, and in the next month, February, Lord Cornbury¹ wrote that the Boston merchants, instead of obeying the proclamation, took from New York all the specie obtainable, whether heavy or light. They allowed not only previous rates, but added ten per cent. premium. They took pieces weighing 13 pennyweights at six shillings. New York was losing its trade in European goods, and he cites a definite instance. A young man from New York bought £500 worth of foreign goods in Boston, passing his pieces of eight reals at six shillings, with nine per cent. premium added. In June the merchants of New York² petitioned that one hundred pounds of their standard of currency would purchase scarcely fifty pounds' worth of goods, or one half the amount it would purchase in Boston. Before the queen's proclamation was published, exchange was in the opposite direction; the New England standard was higher, and required one hundred twelve pounds ten shillings of New York currency to purchase one hundred pounds' worth of goods. The sudden change in the standard value of the specie, chiefly Spanish, precipitated by the home government, was promptly turned to the advantage of the New England men. The actual commercial value of the piece of eight — the main circulating medium — was something quite different from the theoretical value worked out at the mint, even with all the knowledge of a Newton. The New England traders were capable enough to grasp the resulting advantage.

The New York merchants complained that Boston took all their coin, large and small, except copper pence. In

¹ *Doc. Col. N. York*, iv. 1132.

² *Ibid.*, iv. 1135.

1703 Massachusetts had contracted to import £5,000 in copper pence from England through one Chalkhill. It is disputed whether this project was executed or not.¹ But two years later there seems to have been a surfeit of this coin.

Praying to Hercules did not help the port of New York, for in 1708 Lord Cornbury² complains again to the Board of Trade. Now the active New Englanders have added a manufacturing profit to their vantage in exchanges and merchandising. They bought wheat in New York "with moneys clipped to a third part of the real value." They carried it home, ground and bolted it, shipped it to the West Indies, and sold it for good specie, or such wares as they desired. Benjamin Faneuil,³ the uncle of Boston's benefactor, advertises at this time to furnish exchange in bills drawn from New York on Boston. The price of silver in Connecticut⁴ in 1706 was eight shillings per ounce. This corresponds with the value in Massachusetts in 1709.⁵

We turn from the manufacture of paper money, and from the fluctuations of specie or any other currency the colonists were fortunate enough to obtain, to the industries which employed these moneys and kept them in circulation. I have alluded to the principal ^{Manufacture of wool.} manufacture, the homespun making of woollen and worsted, about 1675 and in the following years. In 1689 the writer of the "Brief Relation"⁶ says there were some manufactures, but not one twentieth of their need or consumption. He must have understated the home product,⁷ even if we allow for a great increase in two decades. By

¹ *Essex Inst.*, i. 155.

² *Doc. Col. N. York*, v. 58.

³ *Bos. News Letter*, No. 211.

⁴ *Col. Rec.* 1706, p. 157; and for the value of silver after 1700, see Belknap, *N. H.*, vol. iii. p. 225.

⁵ *Suffolk P. R.*, xvi. 591.

⁶ Force, *Tracts*, iv. 8.

⁷ Prince Soc., *Andros Tract*, iii. 7.

the end of the century the increase of this manufacture of woven fabrics alarmed the home government so much that in 1699 a very stringent decree was laid upon the exportation or movement of them within or without the plantations. "No Wool, Woolfells, Shortlings, Morlings, Wool Flocks, Worsted, Bay or Woolen Yarn, Cloath, Serge, Bays, Kerseys, Says, Frizes, Druggets, Cloath Serges, Shalloons or any other Drapery, Stuffs or Woollen Manufactures whatsoever, made or mixed with Wool or Wool Flocks, being of the Product or Manufacture of any of the English Plantations in America shall be laden on any Ship or Vessel," etc.¹ Nor could the same wares be laid on any horse or carriage to be transported to "any other place whatsoever." The meaning is clear. Home manufactures could not be absolutely prohibited, though every care was taken to discourage them. The royal governors were always puzzling over expedients for employing the colonists in making salt, wines, potashes, naval stores especially, or any enterprise to keep them from wool, the pet industry of England. English industries were already feeling the competition of the cheap labor of the East, in the fabrics imported by the East India Company.² Should the Western World add its wakeful energies to the sleepy accumulations of the East, all uniting to oppress the wool growers and manufacturers, with the linen-weavers, of the mother country?

It might be expected that manufactures sufficient to occupy the attention of the Lords of Trade and of his Majesty King William III. would leave some marks behind them. Garret spinning-wheels and looms, fulling-mills on the small waterfalls, appear at every turn of domestic history. There must have been higher organisms than these, some centres of manufacture, some headquarters for the development of skilled work, just as we found

¹ *Doc. Col. N. York*, v. 149.

² Grovestins, *Louis XV. and Guill. III.*, vii. 86.

in the weaving-shop of Gabriel Harris at New London.¹ The records are mostly but not all lost. Traces of this kind of work are scattered in the inventories, and fortunately a complete outfit was recorded in Boston. In 1695 John Cornish, an humble dyer, comber,^{First wors-ted-mill.} weaver, and fuller, died there, and the inventory² of his

¹ See above, p. 305.

² *An inventory of the Estate of John Cornish, late of Boston in New England, deceased, taken the second day of March, 1695/6. Suffolk P. R., xiii. 743.*

<i>Imprimis.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>
40 lbs. of "woosted," at 3/9	7 10 00
56 " " "white yarne," at 1/3	3 10 09
54 " " coverlet " at 1/	2 14 00
54 " " mixed colored combed wool, at 2/9	7 08 06
6 " " blue combed wool, at 2/9	0 16 08
62 " " white " " 2/.	6 04 00
8 " " blue combed wool wanting cleaning, at 2/6 . . .	1 00 00
279 " " draw white wool, at 1/9	24 08 03
36 " " course refuse wool, at 5d	0 15 00
A parcel of pinion and course wool	0 15 00
82 lbs. of copperas, at 2d	0 13 09
34 " " galls, at 18d	2 11 00
70 " " red wood, at 1/	3 10 00
60 " " potash, at 6d	1 10 00
35 " " madder, at 1/	1 15 00
230 " " fustick, at 18/.	2 13 00
4 looms & tackling	8 00 00
2 pair of combs 1 wrinch, warping bar & scame . . .	2 10 00
2 furnaces	16 00 00
1 horse, 1 cart, & the tackle to it	7 00 00
2 saddles & bridles	1 10 00
A case of pistols, holsters, 1 gun & 3 swords	5 00 00
2 peices of serge containing 45 yards per peice, 40 yds. woven	8 10 00
149 yds. do. at 3/6 per yd.	26 01 06
40 lbs. pewter at 12d	2 00 00
1 peice of kersey, 26 yds, at 3/6 yd.	4 11 00
4 beds, bolsters & pillows	8 00 00
3 pair of curtains	3 00 00
3 bedsteads	1 00 00

effects reveals the exact processes of his business. He dyed wool, using two furnaces, and he combed it, either colored or white. Doubtless the spinning was done in the homesteads of eastern Massachusetts, by the dames, or the daughters of the dames, who had been taught in spinning-

Details of worsted manufacture. classes. The farmers might have taken home the clean "top" wool — from which the "noil" or short fibre had been cleared by the two pairs of combs worked by two men — on the market day. Another day they would bring in the spun worsted, taking their pay in cloth or yarn. The wool might be their own, or "put out" by Cornish for the spinning. Evidently he traded his manufacture for that of others; he combed and wove, but he did not card or spin. The "white" and "coverlet" yarns were carded in the homesteads; hand-cards were very common. The "woosted" yarn was 3s. 9d. per lb., the best carded yarn was only 1s. 3d. The "draw white wool" at 1s. 9d. was probably waste from the "top" to be combed again. Dyeing in two furnaces, combing with two combs, weaving with four looms, a detached and independent fulling-mill, would make a considerable business. Serge was in the looms; when finished it would be worth 3s. 6d. per yard. It was worsted, or partly worsted. He had one piece of kersey, probably of carded

Inventory continued.

10 pr. of sheets	3 00 00
1 jack, 2 spits, 1 pr. andirons, fire shovel, tongs, & 2 tram-mels	3 00 00
2 pots, 2 kettles, and one skillet	2 00 00
1 case of drawers, 3 trunks, 1 chest, 2 tables, cradle, 12 chairs, napkins, &c.	5 00 00
Books	0 10 00
Barrels, tubs & lumber	0 06 00
2 pr. of scales	0 16 00
His wearing apparel	15 00 00
One fulling-mill, house & land to them.	60 00 00
	<hr/>
	£247 13 05

stock, and probably obtained by exchange in the operations of the fulling-mill.

We must remember that business in the old manufacturing districts of Europe was done in a similar way. I have said that his business was considerable for the time. His estate was only £247.13.05. His wearing apparel was £15, and his whole household furniture only £26, of which more than one third was in beds and bedding. He had a family; the three bedsteads and cradle show that. He was a worsted comber and weaver; his other business was subsidiary to that. When we consider that the worsted industries of New England in 1880 employed \$13,623,247 of capital, and produced \$20,935,229 of value in goods, we may pay a tribute to the memory of this humble pioneer in Boston. John Cornish was — so far as is known — the first organiser of this industry in these busy lands.

Serges, partly made and also finished, are the only woven fabrics of worsted appearing in the inventory.

These goods were very common, and almost every invoice of English stuffs contains them in different qualities. They were used in many kinds of garments, being worn by the men as well as the women. Phineas Willson,¹ a trader at Hartford in good circumstances, leaves in 1692 a serge coat with silver buttons, valued at £6. His wardrobe was of the better sort, and there was a waistcoat of serge. Deacon Thomas Bull,² a farmer at Farmington, Conn., leaves in 1708 a serge waistcoat and breeches, with a jacket. They appear in curtains and in the coverings of chairs.³

Worsted woven fabrics of various kinds must have been made or attempted. Nicholas Busbie, a worsted-weaver, devised two looms in Boston, 1657.⁴ These serges were the most common, and as noted previously “tammies” were

¹ *Hartford Prob. Rec.*, 1692.

² *Ibid.*, 1708.

³ *Suffolk P. R.*, xiii. 601.

⁴ *Mem. H. Boston*, ii. xxvi.

made in Rhode Island. And in 1715 there is a quoted list of several kinds of weaving at Nantucket.¹ Among ^{The fabrics used.} these appears "worsted for shirts." Worsted stockings were much worn, both of imported and domestic manufacture. They appear in a trader's stock in 1693,² of coarse quality, at 2s. per pair. It is curious that "cotton stirrup stockings" were at a higher price, 2s. 6d. They were probably thick, and made of a large-sized yarn. Cotton was higher-priced than either worsted or linen. Sheets and napkins were generally made of linen, but of cotton sometimes. The cotton ones were appraised the highest.³ Tow sheets appear occasionally.

These worsted stockings must have been largely knit by the women at home. In Deacon Steven Hosmer's inventory at Hartford,⁴ in 1693: 17½ hanks of worsted yarn was accounted for in two qualities, at 5s. and at 3s. 2d. per hank. He had 109 sheep and one pair of wool hand-cards. These cards, as well as flax and linen yarn, were in almost every farmhouse. The worsted was either combed at such establishments as Cornish's, or by experts⁵ who went from house to house. Combing was a much more complicated operation than carding, both being done by hand. I have found no combs in traders' or household inventories, nor any trace of worsted yarn imported.

These scattered facts establish a clear inference that ^{General advance in manufac-} the homespun industries were making great progress about the turn of the century. We see the importance of these industries when we compare them with other new communities. The French colonies in Canada in 1705 had done so little in this direction that the loss of a ship laden with goods reduced them to want. Spinning, weaving, hemp and flax culture had

¹ Macy, p. 77.

² *Suffolk P. R.*, xiii. 180.

³ *Hartford Prob. Rec.*, Phineas Willson, 1692.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Sewall notes the death of Burroughs, a worsted-comber, going to Roxbury in the night, 1708. ⁵ *M. H. C.*, vi. 241.

all been neglected. They now began. Mad. de Repentigny invented a kind of coarse blanket made of nettle and linden bark.¹ Such was their necessity. Nothing but an actual development of colonial manufactures could justify the nervous action of the home government in forbidding the transport of wool or woollens, by horse or cart, away from the New England husbandman's door. The act did little toward diminishing home production or increasing foreign imports. Nearly all reports about 1708 and 1709² show that our ancestors were wearing their own goods. The cards and spinning-wheels of the busy homesteads — with combs there or elsewhere — were deftly turning home wool and flax with West Indian cotton into tissues and fabrics³ adapted to a people frugal and simple, but whose wardrobe nevertheless was a large fraction of their outlay. In 1708 Caleb Heathcote said “ $\frac{3}{4}$ of ye linen and woollen they wear is made amongst 'em.”⁴ In 1705 Lord Cornbury⁵ called attention to the woollen manufactures of Long Island and Connecticut, and had “seen serge made upon Long Island that any man may wear.” In 1708⁶ he reported, “they make very good linen for common use, as for Woolen I think they have brought that to too great per- English jealousy of our manufac-tures.

¹ Parkman, *Old Regime*, p. 297.

² Uring says that Boston had many craftsmen, but fewest weavers, “they making very little cloth either linen or woolen.” *N. H. H. C.*, iii. 144.

³ Judd, *Hadley*, p. 388. The women dyed the yarns with indigo. The blue was woven with white into checks or stripes. A covered indigo-tub was common furniture in the chimney corner.

⁴ *Doc. Col. N. Y.*, i. 486.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iv. 1151.

⁶ *Ibid.*, v. 59.

⁷ Cited by Palfrey, iv. 399.

one in forty but wears his own carding, spinning," etc. Fulling-mills, for finishing in a rough way the hand-woven woollens, were starting constantly in different districts. Sewall exults piously — as was his wont — when Brother Moody succeeds with one in 1693.¹ Stamford, Ct.,² in 1700, Guilford³ in 1707, had them ; Colchester, Mass., in 1706 ;⁴ Dorchester in 1709 ; and David Colson,⁵ the clothier, added the pulling of wool from sheepskins, — the first instance of this important industry.

Cornbury urged that these textile manufactures "ought to be taken care of in time." They were anxious lest the Germans coming from the Palatinate⁶ should undertake the woollen manufacture. The chief reliance of the royal officers in their efforts to check our manufactures was in encouraging the production of naval stores from the forests. This would profit England in two ways : by supplying the home fleet with needed materials, and by cutting off the production of textiles, it would leave a void to be filled by English manufactures. Bellomont, always

^{Naval stores.} seeking information, and more thorough in his methods than others of his time, investigated the actual making of tar at Piscataqua.⁷ He found that one man working alone could get a barrel of tar per week. Gangs of laborers could produce more relatively. It sold in North Carolina then — about 1698 — at 8s. 6d. per bbl. delivered at the vessel. The first tar sent from America to England had too much "burning quality which consumes the Ropes,"⁸ but the products of this time were said to be equal to the best from Stockholm. The New England rosin was as good as the French ; and Bellomont projected the manufacture of tar with other stores on the king's account. Bridger attempted to carry it out in New

¹ 5 *M. H. C.*, v. 376.

² Huntington, p. 172.

³ *Hist.*, p. 33.

⁴ *Rec. Colchester*, p. 45.

⁵ *Hist. Dorchester*, pp. 597, 621.

⁶ *Doc. Col. N. York*, v. pp. 88-118.

⁷ *Doc. Col. N. York*, iv. 587.

⁸ *Ibid.*, iv. 705.

Hampshire, preparing "a great many thousand trees"¹ in advance. The sturdy colonists would not idly allow the crown to "milk" their trees, and cut down those Bridger had appropriated. To "box and milk" the pine was a valuable privilege, and one Cape town received £2 per annum for it in 1707.² Much tar and turpentine was made on the banks of the upper Connecticut and shipped through Hartford to Boston in 1695-1706.³ One party, Joseph Parsons, sent 500 bbls. turpentine from western New Hampshire in these years. Hadley found it necessary to prohibit the use of "candle-wood" to make tar. The price of turpentine for some years after 1708, on the Connecticut, was 5s. 6d. to 6s. per 112 lbs.; at Boston it was 2s. higher. The premiums allowed by England did not affect the price on the Connecticut. These gave an impulse to the manufacture of these forest supplies. Connecticut⁴ gave the sole privilege of making pitch to John Elliott, of Windsor, in 1708. Shipmasters trading there, and other persons, could boil tar for their own use.

The accounts are meagre which should indicate the general development of industry in the mechanic arts. Bellomont⁵ says that in New Hampshire no mill ran more than four saws. This lumbering⁶ — incorporated as it was with shipbuilding and the export trade — was a main factor in the home industries. The saws were generally propelled by water power. Efforts had been made to use the wind — that common but fickle handmaid of industry — for general power. Inventors late in the seventeenth century tried to harness this servant more effectively, though the fickle sprite has never been

¹ *N. Hamp. Prov. Pap.*, iii. 115.

² Freeman, *Cape Cod.*

³ Judd, *Hadley*, pp. 300-302.

⁴ *Col. Rec. Conn.* 1708, p. 46.

⁵ *Doc. N. Y.*, iv. 825.

⁶ Incident to this was the manufacture of wooden ware (Barry, *Hanover*, p. 32), pails, firkins, "dumbetty" tubs, etc., from the choice pine or "rare-ripe" trees. Hingham excelled here in the beginning of the century.

useful for continuous power. One Christopher Talbot, "Turner in Boston," petitioned for a fourteen years' patent for an engine useful to "turners, ropemakers, smiths, and all sorts of mills for corne, sider, sawmills, and almost any thing that is to be done by wheels with sails."¹ He claimed also another invention which would make a boat sail against wind and tide.

Rope-making was pursued regularly,² as a Boston petition would indicate. The demand was very great, not only for merchantable ropes to rig vessels for export and for foreign service, but also for rough cordage to supply the fishing and coasting craft. And they must have woven canvas, for "New England Canvis" appears in a Salem inventory.³ Hemp was directly encouraged by governmental aid. In 1701 Massachusetts⁴ chartered a company to buy all good hemp, provided growers charged no more than 4d. 1 farthing per lb. The company was to receive a bounty of 1 farthing per lb. from the public treasury.

Desultory attempts were made here and there to mine for ores, especially of the useful metals, iron and copper. Little resulted from these undertakings.

^{Mining and other industries.} Beyond the raising of bog ores. But the prospect was always fascinating enough to tempt speculation. An interesting letter from Stephen Sewall discusses one of these projects about 1700, and shows the high standard of public integrity maintained by that excellent man. The plan was for a company which was to "pretend by virtue of their charter to claim every thing of that nature in the Plantations."⁵ They offered Sewall as many shares as he pleased if he would forward the scheme, but he "spoilt the Project." At the same time the letter shows that he had faith in mining if it could be prosecuted in a lawful

¹ Prince Soc., *Andros Tract*, iii. 18.

² *Rec. Boston, City Doc.*, p. 70.

³ *Essex Inst.*, viii. 22.

⁴ *Mass. Arch.*, i. 61.

⁵ Am. Ant. Soc. MS., *Curwin Papers*.

way. William Partridge, of Newbury, Mass., and Jonathan Belcher, of Boston, in 1712, received especial privileges from Connecticut¹ for mining at Simsbury. Not much was realised there, though it was considered a fair industrial venture, as Thomas Amory's letters show. An attempt was made at Wallingford, Ct., and in Dorchester, Mass.² At this place a more important enterprise was established in 1710. The first slitting-mill for iron was started by Mr. Jackson.³ The working of iron was well established in southeastern Massachusetts. Forges are noted at Hanover⁴ in 1704, at Rehoboth⁵ in 1705. The old "materialls for wire-drawing," reposing in the town-house garret at Boston,⁶ probably, since Joseph Jenck's time, were pulled out and loaned to John Hubbert in 1707.

A great event for 1697 was in the discovery of limestone at Newbury, Mass., by Ensign James Noyes.⁷ The lime used in colonial building had been made from sea-shore shells. The fact that this indispensable cement of civilisation could be had in its best form on the land justly created a great excitement. Thirty teams in a day came to drag away the precious boon. The burghers, startled in their unconscious possession of such riches, sent James Brown, the deputy sheriff, to stop this spoliation. "The town will have a meeting, and bring it to some regulation."

Leather kept on in its natural course of production. A sure sign that the hides were wanted at home is in the fact that they will not let them go abroad. The Massachusetts Court, in 1694, absolutely forbids the export of undressed skins or hides from "ox, buck, doe, or fawn."⁸ This was followed in 1698 by an act⁹ regulating in con-

¹ *Col. Rec.* 1712, p. 323.

² *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 283.

³ *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 621.

⁴ *Barry*, p. 23.

⁵ *Bliss*, p. 133.

⁶ *Select Men Rec., City Doc.*, p. 58.

⁷ *Sewall*, 5 *M. H. C.*, v. 458; *Coffin, Newbury*, p. 164; *Chase, Haverhill*, p. 83.

⁸ *Mass. Arch.*, lxi. 432.

⁹ *Ibid.*, lix. 227.

siderable detail the "mysteries" of butchers, tanners, curriers, and cordwainers. Rhode Island followed the makers and workers of leather with similar legislation in 1707.¹

Along with these regular and forward movements of industry were certain abortive attempts and failures, such as civilisation is always making. The mild climate of the Narragansett country always promised results in agriculture which average New England could not hope for. The grapes native there had inspired Bellomont with the expectation of good wine,² in spite of their foxy flavor. Besides, there was a settlement of French immigrants, whose trained skill in horticulture ought to have produced better results than their neighbors allowed them to attain. Silk had been produced in the Carolinas, and it was hoped by the lords at Whitehall³ that it would come out of Narragansett also.

Attempts at
wine and
silk.

The lords justly put salt for the fisheries highest among products to be sought for and encouraged. A monopoly for manufacturing it in Massachusetts for fourteen years was issued in 1696 to Elisha Hutchinson and others. They were to make 100 hogsheads before 1701; it does not appear that it was produced.

These domestic manufactures, though not as conspicuous in the development of the country as its foreign commerce, stayed and supported that commerce at home. Labor which could not be converted into merchantable products could be employed in the odd seasons for articles needed at home, thus saving outlay abroad. The constant industry of woman — an essential factor in every phase of New England life — manifested itself in these home products.

The prices of farming lands varied little from those of the preceding period.⁴ Valuations near villages and grow-

¹ *R. I. Col. Rec.*, iv. 7, 8.

² *Doc. Col. N. York*, iv. 787.

³ *Doc. Col. N. York*, iv. 855.

⁴ See above, p. 335.

ing places are rather higher. Outlying parcels of land — even when cultivated — were valued much below those at or near homesteads. In the valuations of Connecticut for 1708,¹ assessed for taxation, lands are rated much lower than in the inventories of estates. But these assessed rates show the same relative proportions. The rich lands on the Connecticut River are higher than those of New Haven and New London counties, and the latter are higher than the newer districts of Waterbury, Danbury, and Woodbury. The arable lands of Hartford County, excepting Danbury, etc., are laid at 15s.; New Haven, New London, and Fairfield, at 7s. 6d.; Danbury, Waterbury, etc., at 6s.

The village homesteads, as well as the farms, had lands assorted into meadow, pasture, boggy, or woodland, making each family nearly self-sustaining. Phineas Willson,² with a good estate of £1,526 1s. 4d., had £260 in his homestead house and lands at Hartford. Mary Gilbert, worth £562 13s. 17d., had invested £160 in the homestead. Deacon Thomas Bull, of Farmington, was a better type; his estate was £745 12s. 1d., of which £150 was in his homestead. In other districts the way of living was similar. In Gloucester,³ Mass., the largest estate before 1690 belonged to Henry Walker. It was inventoried at £922 10s., chiefly in land.

Sewall inspected an estate, "Devotion's," in Roxbury, 170 $\frac{2}{3}$. The price asked was £150. It comprised 12 acres of land, a house, "raw and unfinished," containing two good lower rooms and one good chamber. He notes the "Barn and Outhousing Ranshakld."⁴

The style of house⁵ was but little changed from our former description.⁶

¹ *Col. Rec. Conn.*, 1708, p. 334.

² *Hartford Prob. Rec.*

³ Babson, p. 175.

⁴ 6 *M. H. C.*, i. 276.

⁵ For a full account of early houses see *New Haven H. C.*, ii. 173-180.

⁶ See above, p. 283.

The common laborer, the producer of all this substance, was attracted by the opportunities of the Western Hemisphere, as he was three quarters of a century earlier. It is noteworthy that he did not emigrate more freely than he did. He needed the lead and impulse of stronger natures, and there was little regular immigration. Some convicts were sent over, and servants and artisans were brought by contract. Soldiers and sailors deserted for the wages, better than their pay, which New York and New England offered.¹ If the Englishman had the thrift-making gift of the freeman, the land was open to make him a homestead proprietor. Failing that, the common laborer could earn 2s. per day in New England,² and 2s. 3d. to 3s. in New York. Handicraftsmen obtained 5s. per day in the latter district. Clarendon might well say, "No person that has his Limbs and will work can starve in that Country." Wages for skilled labor in New England were rather lower. John Marshall,³ a good typical specimen, received about 4s. per day at Braintree from 1697 to 1711. He farmed a little, made laths in the winter, was painter and carpenter, was messenger, and burned bricks, bought and sold stock. In one day he could make 300 laths. He was a non-commissioned officer in the Braintree company, and a constable of the precinct.

We should mark the frosts of 1695, both for the disasters to agriculture and for the general regularity of the crop of Indian corn. Sewall reports wheat at the extraordinary price of 8s. in 1696, caused by the scarcity of maize. He says Indian, the "chief stay," which used to be 2s., or occasionally 2s. 6d., is now scarce at 5s. or 5s. 6d.⁴

The fisheries worked in unison with every industry.

¹ *Doc. N. York*, iv. 502, 871; v. 196.

² *Hist. Framingham*, p. 44.

³ *Diary in M. H. S. Proc.* 1884, p. 149.

⁴ *6 M. H. C.*, i. 165.

The trade with Indians, though a half century had greatly changed its relative importance, was still of consequence. On the eastern coasts it increased ^{Fish and furs.} the opportunities of the fishermen. A proposition was made by the Board of Trade to Bellomont in 1701¹ to lessen the customs at New York on beaver, to encourage the importation of the skins from the eastern Indians. The main intention was to favor beaver and to encourage the fishing expeditions, which took out goods for the coast trade with the Indians. Disarming the Indians² had been mooted, but Bellomont wisely advised the lords at home that they would never submit to it. Hunting beaver, deer, and moose furnished them subsistence, and was "their extream delight." They often went "7 to 800 miles on a stretch" in the hunting season. They loved the chase, in his opinion, better than wife or children. They would not work to make potash.³

The curious tariff below⁴ shows the exchange of goods

¹ *Doc. N. York*, iv. 855.

² *Ibid.*, iv. 608.

³ *Ibid.*, iv. 788.

⁴ 1703. *Mass. Arch.*, cxix. 214. Prices of goods supplied to the Eastern Indians by the several truckmasters, and of the peltry received by the truckmasters of the said Indians:—

Beaver Skins in Season.		Beaver Skins in Season.
1 yd. of broadcloth equals . . . 3		10 lbs. of pork equals . . . 1
1½ yds. of gingerline 1		6 knives 1
1 yd. of Red or blue kersey . . 2		6 combs 1
1 yd. of good Dussels 1		20 skeins of thread 1
1½ yds. of broad, fine cotton . 1		1 hat 2
2 yds. of cotton 1		1 hat (with hatband) . . . 3
1½ yds. of half thicks 1		2 lbs. of large kettles . . . 1
5 pecks Indian corn 1		1½ lbs. of small kettles . . 1
5 pecks Indian meal 1		1 shirt 1
4 pecks pease 1		1 shirt (with ruffles) . . . 2
2 pints of powder 1		2 small axes 1
1 pint of shot 1		2 small hoes 1
6 fathom of tobacco 1		3 doz. middling hooks . . . 1
40 biscuits 1		1 blade 1½

in a currency of beaver, and peltry convertible into beaver, Price current carried on in the eastern coast trade. The items in beaver. reveal the progress made in civilisation and commerce at the same time. An invoice¹ dated two years earlier, of goods actually sent, contains cotton cloth, shirts, thread, and combs, along with powder and shot, tobacco and pipes, etc. It is true the proportion of these latter was like Falstaff's sack to the civilised comforts, but progress is shown in the fact that any domestic goods were demanded in ordinary trade. The currency of beaver may be supplemented by another curiosity in the weights Curious myth and measures of tradition. The story crops out in trade. now and then, as in the case of John Sheple,² a noted Indian trader in the early part of the century at Groton, Mass., that his foot weighed a pound. His custom was — the story ran — to put his foot into the scale to balance an estimated pound of furs on the other side. This myth merely reveals the process by which the Aryan plants his foot on subject races everywhere, and that the North American Indian was shrewd enough to perceive the fact. Our Indian was a cunning trader; after an 800-mile hunt he would not undervalue his skins by any chicanery in the weighing.

In the older districts evidence is positive that some of Exceptional Indians. the Indians were passing out of nomadic into agricultural life. In 1702 Sewall visited Abel's

What shall be accounted in value equal to one beaver in season, viz.: —

	Beaver Skins in Season.		Beaver Skins in Season.
1 otter skin	1	8 minks	1
1 bear skin	1	5 lbs. feathers	1
2 half skins	1	4 raccoons	1
4 pappoose skins	1	4 seal skins (large)	1
2 foxes	1	1 lb. of castorum	1
2 woodchucks	1	1 moose hide	2
4 martins	1		

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, xxx. 476.

⁵ Butler's *Groton*, p. 97.

"Wigwam" at Gay Head Neck. He was much pleased with "the goodness of his house, especially the Furniture, demonstrating his Industry, viz., Two great Spinning wheels, one small one for Linen, and a Loom to weave it."¹

He also saw four good oxen belonging to one Indian. Race controls the individual, but civilisation controls the race. We see mixed marriages, white and Indian, here and there. Sober, industrious natives, laboring and acquiring property, like these admired by Sewall, were doubtless absorbed into the stronger race which was forming the New England citizen; the barbarian dropped out. Of this sort were the captives brought up from the Carolinas. Connecticut² forbade the importation of Indians in 1715.

In the preceding period, 1663-1690, I discussed the progress of the community under the changing conditions of colonial life. The communal principle — deep-grained in the English and Teutonic races — planted the first towns. Individual freedom was never absent, but it was directed by a strong compelling force proceeding from the body politic, which tended to fuse individuals into a common union. I have stated the positive steps and measures going toward this result in different communities. An equally strong negative statement could be made from the expulsion of Roger Williams and the Rhode Islanders from the Bay. This action of the strongest and most characteristic colony showed that those who could not live in accord with the will of the majority must live elsewhere. In Worcester³ we saw a community founded by the generation educated by the development of the New England community, and the economic and prudential control of citizens and families by the town governments was traced.⁴

Progress
of the com-
munity.

¹ 5 *M. H. C.*, vii. 398.

² *Col. Rec.* 1715, p. 534.

³ See above, p. 270.

⁴ See above, p. 273.

The turn of the century shows little change in this regard.¹ The founding of Brimfield, offshooting Communal principles in from Springfield toward Brookfield, — begun in the towns. 1701, — shows the same principles at work. It was long delayed: the first regular town meeting was not held until 1731; it was disputed in petitions and counter-petitions to the General Court. Land was to be distributed to 60 families, provided 20 were actually settled in two years, then the time would be extended. The committee empowered were “to consider Compactness and safety as well as Mens Conveniency and Advantage for Husbandry, as also the Endeavouring the Setling of an Able Orthodox Minister of the Gospel there as soon as may be.”²

The habits and methods peculiar to communal life lost none of their original vigor in a half century of practice. The interesting custom of herding³ sheep and cattle on the common lands was kept up. Some of the Cape towns appointed town shepherds.⁴ Bristol hired a town shepherd in 1694⁵ for a general flock, and prohibited all private flocks on the commons or unfenced lands, unless these particular flocks should be put in charge of the shepherd. Great detail in management of the commons entered into town affairs. One Laffin⁶ leaves the record of his dissatisfaction with the same. They fettered the horses all the year, and allowed no ram on the commons.⁷ Bristol dignified John Corps by giving him the offices of “Pound-keeper, digger of Graves, Sweeper of Meeting-house, Ringer of the Bell,”⁸ all recompensed by one salary agreed upon by the selectmen. His melancholy name carried him to a grave dug by another hand. His widow, desolate but still an active Corps, consoled herself in the

¹ *Prov. Pap. N. H.*, iii. 23.

² *Hist. Brimfield*, p. 241.

³ See above, pp. 65, 277.

⁴ Freeman, *Cape Cod*, p. 82.

⁵ Munro, *Bristol*, p. 121; *R. I. Hist. Mag.*, v. 143.

⁶ *Narragansett H. Reg.*, iii. 4, p. 279.

⁷ *Ibid.*, iii. 209.

⁸ Munro, *Bristol*, p. 118.

offices of ringer and sweeper, receiving by a vote of the town an annual stipend of £3.¹ Greenwich,² Ct., bought a bull, and Waterbury³ granted many proprietors seven acres each for a "hogfield." This town had 743 acres in a common field in 170 $\frac{4}{5}$; the proprietors in 170 $\frac{7}{8}$ by vote sequestered a tract two by four miles for common pasturage, firewood, timber, stone, etc. It was allotted at various times, but some remained in common until 1759. A curious instance of the partition of common property for the general good appears here in 1697. The town languished, and some of the proprietors moved away. To encourage young and enterprising men to remain, the proprietors voted each certain lands and a "propriety of £40. in the Commons."⁴ These were called bachelors' grants, and were conditioned on occupation with a house not less than 16×16 within four years.

The minute control of the early governments in economic matters gradually lessened as the cares of state multiplied. The Massachusetts General Court regulated shingles in 1695: 15 or 18 inches long, not less than 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in width, or $\frac{1}{2}$ in thickness.⁵ In 1696 they fixed the weight of the penny loaf, to slide in proportion to the price of flour.⁶

¹ Munro, *Bristol*, p. 119.

² Mead, p. 73.

³ Bronson, pp. 43, 55, 78.

⁴ Bronson, *Waterbury*, p. 115.

⁵ *Mass. Arch.*, lix. 213.

⁶ *Mass. Arch.*, lix. 217. 1696. It was enacted by the General Court that the weight of a penny loaf should be in proportion to the price of flour per cwt. The following assize is given:—

When flour costs

A penny loaf should weigh

16 shil. per cwt.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	ounces
18 "	"	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	7 $\frac{3}{4}$	"
20 "	"	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	7	"
22 "	"	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6 $\frac{5}{8}$	"
24 "	"	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5 $\frac{1}{8}$	"
26 "	"	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5 $\frac{3}{8}$	"
28 "	"	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5	"
30 "	"	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4 $\frac{5}{8}$	"
32 "	"	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4 $\frac{3}{8}$	"

In Dr. Bentley's old records¹ — of Salem probably — there are provisions in 1699 for "fier-buckets and hooked poles" in the town-house. The important provision is made that no stable shall "Join an house," nor fire be allowed in "hay room." Ringing of school bells and the prices of tuition are regulated.

One of the disputed provinces in municipal government was in the control of the general markets for produce. Boston established a Thursday market in 1633. Toward the end of the century there was a movement in more than one district to place the selling of country produce under more effective control. In 1693 Bristol² appointed Thursday for market day under the usual restrictions, and forbade the sale of produce on any other day, unless the transaction was made at a remote farmhouse. In 1696³ Massachusetts confined the marketing in Boston to Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, at such places as a majority of the justices of peace might define. The language of the act would indicate that it was an innovation. Uring in 1709⁴ gives reasons why the country people objected to fixed market days. They said that so much produce coming in at one time would glut the market, and place the sellers at the mercy of townspeople. There was more or less peripatetic marketing ; for he makes merry over the wanderings of "tall fellows," one of whom would carry a goose or turkey through a whole town, finally selling it at 3s. 6d. or 4s. If he had stayed at home he would have earned a crown for his day's labor.

The vital principle animating the community, and controlling individual action for the common good, manifested itself variously in different localities. It was a local and differentiated public spirit adapting itself to the wants of time and place. We are

¹ Am. Ant. Soc. in MS.

² Munro, p. 119.

³ Mass. Arch., cxix. 107.

⁴ N. Hamp. H. C., iii. 143.

not to suppose that the minute regulation of domestic matters was in itself peculiar to New England or to small commonwealths. The spirit of the age worked in this form ; in one place by the methods of absolutism, in another through crude representative institutions. The experience of feudal France, adapting its administration to the wilds of Canada and to the wants of a new nation, is quite as instructive as that of the New England towns. In Canada,¹ at this period, no inhabitant could own more than two horses or mares, and one foal. City people could not let their houses or rooms to those from the country without permission. Montreal could not trade with France excepting through Quebec.

The state sharpened its faculties, prying into every act of citizens, just as the church supervised every opinion of the people. The fathers superintended economically and morally. Samuel Abby, of Salem, in 1695 takes his father and mother for support by agreement with Ipswich. Then the selectmen of Ipswich give formal bond to Salem to "secuer the towne of Salem from any charge."² In 1698 the selectmen of Woburn³ admonish John Carter, Jr., "for misspending his time ;" he must "improve it better for the futer." Boston admitted citizens on a bond, and in 1700⁴ votes £500 for "materials & Tools to Sett poor people and Ill persons at work." In 1702 the order is for "some Spining wheels & other Implements" for the poor to work with. Framingham⁵ chooses its four tithingmen, four fence-viewers, four swine-drivers, and one grand-juryman, to help carry the communal jurisdiction into individual affairs.

In laying taxes, property in all its forms was rated ; then there was a further rate or poll of persons according

Sharp con-
trol of indi-
viduals.

¹ Parkman, *Old Rég.*, pp. 279, 289.

² Curwin MS.

³ Sewall, p. 57.

⁴ Records Selectmen, pp. 118, 241.

⁵ *Hist. Framingham*, p. 43.

to ability. As in New Hampshire, "every male one shilling six pence per head and all p'sons better Taxes. able to bear the publique charge than common Labourers, as Butchers, Bakers, Brewers, Vitulars, Smiths, Carpenters, Taylers, Shoomakers, Joyners, Barbers, Millers & Masons & Artificers are to be rated proportionably to other men, and for all servants & children as take not wages their masters or parents shall pay for them."¹ The supervision extended into all departments of political economy, and had to be varied according to circumstances. Valuable products were kept at home, but in 1707 Connecticut was obliged to allow John Murrin, of Milford, to export his accumulated leather, but only until "the last of May next."² There was a communal feeling larger than any statute, and more effective than any administration of viewer or reeve. Sewall notes that he had said publicly that it was "an ill office in Capt Belcher to send away so great a quantity of Wheat (about 6,000 Bushels besides Bread) in this scarce time."³

They had an interesting custom of lending in anticipation of a crop. A farmer would borrow in kind what he expected to reap or gather in season. Those having a store would lend cheerfully, and these obligations were debts of honor scrupulously repaid from the firstfruits.⁴

Uring's statement in 1709 that the roads were very Roads and good, and that he had been "more agreeably posts. entertained in travelling than in either France or Italy,"⁵ was somewhat rose colored probably. It shows at least that three quarters of a century of communication had marked itself on the face of the land. The old town of Ipswich is a fair type of eastern Massachu-

¹ *New Hamp. Prov. Pap.*, iii. p. 165. See interesting details of taxes.

² *Conn. Col. Rec.* 1707, p. 18.

⁴ *Macy, Nantucket*, p. 27.

³ *5 M. H. C.*, vi. 281.

⁵ *N. H. H. C.*, iii. 144.

setts, and in 1699¹ it resolved that its roads should all be four rods wide, except where they lead through an individual's land, he shall make the way passable and two rods wide. One of the obstacles was in the encroaching underbrush. The Indians had cleared this by burning. In Philip's war the land near their settlements was comparatively free of brush, and horsemen could penetrate the woods. Connecticut had a law, adopted by Hadley² in 1693, that each man should work one day in the year clearing bushes from the highways. This practice of burning continued in many places until 1750.

Travellers must be especially equipped for the road and for horseback. Sewall had a "riding coat." I have noted elsewhere "stirrup stockings." When the judge was returning from his circuit, the rain and southerly wind "disturbed" his cloak. He was obliged to lie over at Lewes's while his associates went on. Such trifles complicated and hindered travel.

We forget, too, how hard travelling was in the older countries. Even in the Norfolk and Oxford circuits of England, Mr. Justice Rokeby gives a sorry picture of his riding in 1692.³ People commonly went on horseback, but after a storm in the spring, the judge had to put six horses to his coach. In the previous summer the waters upon the road at Colebrook came into the coach. At Maidenhead they boated the coach. For years after, on the road from Oxford to Gloucester, fourteen hours were consumed in going thirty-three miles. From Monmouth to Hereford there was "a very bad and shaking way." Occasionally the learned and pious judge records the end of a journey with "Thanks be to God!" From twenty to twenty-five miles per day was the ordinary rate of travel.

A post-office was established at Portsmouth, N. H., in

¹ Felt, *Ipswich*, p. 51.

² Judd, p. 106.

³ See diary of Mr. Justice Rokeby, printed from a MS.

1693.¹ The post² from Boston to New York took one week³ in the summer; in the winter it went only once in a fortnight. About the beginning of the century nearly all the modern roads were already laid out, and the use of carts became general.⁴ Coaches were used in Boston and elsewhere. One of the first carriages mentioned was a calash owned by Henry Sharpe,⁵ an inn-holder of Salem. He was not allowed to use it on Sunday, except for "strict necessity."

The better or easy communication was only on the eastern coast and between the older towns. The interior line between Massachusetts and Connecticut was uncertain and dangerous until after 1700. A statement made to the General Court at that time shows a road encumbered with fallen trees and other hazardous obstructions especially between Worcester and Brookfield. The post-rider from Boston to New York made his way along the old "Pequot path," — later the king's highway, or the post-road, — through Providence and the Narragansett country

^{Madam Knight's} by the south shore. Madam Sarah Knight made the journey in 1704, partly in company with the journey. post-rider, and partly under conduct of a private guide. She started through Dedham, stopped at Billings's, a tavern twelve miles beyond, and crossed the ferry at Providence. Her journal⁶ of the trip is one of the few circumstantial accounts of life in those days, and is very interesting. She was a keen observer and sprightly narrator. After her return she opened a school in Boston, teaching Ben Franklin among other boys. On a window-pane in the Mather house, where the school was,

¹ *N. H. Prov. Pap.*, ii. 101.

² For history of post-office, see *Palfrey*, iv. 328.

³ Felt, *Salem*, i. 313; *Doc. Col. N. York*, v. 55.

⁴ Deane, *Scituate*, pp. 14, 15; *Narrag. Hist. Mag.*, iii. 208.

⁵ Newhall, *Lynn*, p. 302; Felt, *Salem*, i. 314.

⁶ *Journey from Boston to New York*. Albany, Little, 1865, 92 pp.

the passers, for more than half a century, could read these lines, scratched with a diamond : —

“Through many toils and many frights
I have returned, poor Sarah Knights.
Over great rocks and many stones
God has preserved from fractured bones.”¹

We see that such a journey by a woman was regarded as prodigious. The experience of Captain Uring, conjoined with that of Madam Knight, fairly represents New England travel at the opening of the new century.

In the smaller places, inns were provided by public authority, as in the early days of the colonies.²

In the towns and village centres, manners were like those of other English peoples of the period. In remote districts and byways, rude customs and inelegant speech prevailed. Madam Knight was much offended by the pert impudence of the eldest daughter of Billings, her host at the ordinary where she spent her first night on the road. “Law for mee — what in the world brings you here at this time a night? I never see a woman on the Rode so Dreadfull late, in all the days of my versall life. Who are You? Where are You going?” etc.³

Our lady remonstrated with the girl for her rudeness, and at last was placed in a chair. The young hostess then ran upstairs and adorned herself with two or three rings, the common ornament. On the other hand, when similar people expected favors, a shamefaced reticence — equally coarse — manifested itself. She notes the ways of people trading in rural Connecticut. As they were generally indebted to the country traders, they deferred much to them, often standing speechless in the store until

¹ Madam Knight's *Journal*, p. vi.

² Eaton, *Reading, Mass.*, p. 39; Mead, *Greenwich, Ct.*, p. 80; *Prov. Papers, N. H.*, iii. 53.

³ Madam Knight's *Journal*, p. 23.

asked what they wanted. An awkward fellow was shown some ribbon for hatbands. "Bumpkin simpers, cryes, 'its confounded Gay, I vow ;' and beckoning to the door, in comes Jane Tawdry, dropping about 50 curtseys and stands by him ; hee shows her the Ribin. *Law you, sais shee, its right Gent,* do You take it, *tis dreadfull pretty.* Then she enquires, *have You any hood silk I pray ?* w^{ch} being brought and bought, *Have You any thred silk to sew it wth* says shee, w^{ch} being accommodated wth they Departed."¹

General culture was at its ebb, lower than at any time before or since. Few towns in Massachusetts escaped fines for neglecting their schools."² The period has been well called "the dark age." Our traveller descants on the importance of education and "conversation," remarking that the people had quite as much mother wit as those brought up in cities. The Connecticut diversions were on the training days, and on lecture days, when they rode from town to town. The weddings were generally public, and they married very young ; "the males oftener under twentie than above." They had one singular custom, the reverse of stealing the bride. Just before the pair joined hands the bridegroom quitted his place, when the "Brides-men" would follow, seize him, and drag him back to his post of duty. Even pleasure was confined in the severe restraints of duty. On training day the young men frequently shot at a mark for prizes given by some of the wealthier citizens. A silk handkerchief was a common and a pair of shoe-buckles an uncommon prize.³

The customary dress was the same as in the former generation, when I treated it so fully.⁴ Sewall's peevish scolding about periwigs shows their prevalence, and they appear in the invoices. In 1693⁵ with cordage and other

¹ Knight's *Journal*, p. 58.

² Shattuck, *Concord*, p. 220.

³ Caulkins, *New Lon.*, p. 406.

⁴ See above, pp. 281-289 ; and Drake, *Roxbury*, p. 53.

⁵ *Mass. Arch.*, lxi. 361.

solid stuff comes "one small case of hair powder, 4 dozen and a half Sweet hair powder, and Wash balls," all valued at £1.16.

Parchment was still used in small quantities. In a stationer's stock in 1700¹ there were "53 skins of writing parchment £2.13," and "536 pieces of parchment for folios £6.14." Madam Knight bought in New York 100 reams of paper at 8s., "retaken in a fly boat from Holland," getting a bargain at the auction sale. "Post paper" was valued in Michael Perry's stock, with the parchment, at 15s. per ream. He had the goods common to stationers; and for literature Stapleton's Juvenal, Sturmy's Magazine, Goldman's Dictionary, Plutarch's Lives, Young's Spelling Books, thirteen Bibles, four Latin Bibles, Lee's Joy of Faith, Peace on Death, "Seaven Wise Masters."

I mentioned the weddings of Connecticut. In Massachusetts they gave gloves often. But the most singular practices, in the view of our time, were in the higgling of dowries and marriage portions. Judge Sewall was, in every respect, a good specimen of his kind. He dines with Mr. Gerrish in 17¹¹/₁₂, and discusses with him Mary Sewall's portion, who is to marry young Gerrish. "I stood for making £550 doe: because now 'twas in six parts, the Land was not worth so much. He urg'd for £600, at last would split the £50. Finally (after another interview) I agreed to charge the House-Rent, and Difference of Money, and make it up to £600."² The next day, to commemorate such a remarkable negotiation, he buys two caps at 7s. each, and presents one to Mr. Gerrish. Giving small gifts was an important matter with Sewall. He used his money well, and was constantly seeking natty presents for his friends, or useful and pleasant tokens for those dependent on him. He often carried dried fruits or oranges to sick or poor persons.

¹ *Suffolk Prob. Rec.*, xiv. 287-289.

² *5 M. H. C.*, vi. 336.

All life ended in death, and the funeral was the great social excitement of every community. The pall ^{Funerals.} was borne by near friends. Sewall enumerates twenty-nine persons at whose obsequies he had served. In every case but one, he had received either scarf, ring, or gloves, generally two of these articles.¹ At his son's funeral in 1708, he gave black scarfs to several besides the bearers, and twenty-two pairs Welsh leather gloves to watchers and others. Watching was a sacred duty. Sewall gave a Mrs. Bayley 10s. at one time, telling her, if the condition of his own family had not prevented, he ought to have watched with her sick husband "as much as that came to." Gloves were sent at times when the receivers could not attend funerals. Rings and scarfs were perquisites as well as mementoes. Sewall's comments on his absenting himself from the funeral of John Ive, "a very debauched, atheistical man," reveal many significant points in his own character. Gloves had been sent, but he was "sick of going." As he was starting, President Mather came in; he stayed, "and by that means lost a Ring: but hope had no loss."²

The table was furnished with the substantial fare of ^{Service of} the first generation. Many small luxuries came ^{the table.} in to relish these viands, among them raisins, almonds, and oranges. Chocolate washed down the breakfast of venison at the lieutenant governor's in Dorchester, October, 1697.³ Sewall mentions butter occasionally, cheese quite frequently. Cheese was almost always among the imports from England. Butter was a scarce luxury in all early settlements, only one churn appearing among the early settlers of Maine at this period.⁴ Butter was a dainty rather than a necessity in ordinary living; even in settled Hartford churning but seldom appear on the inventories.

¹ 5 *M. H. C.*, v. 469.

² *Ibid.*, v. 461.

³ *Ibid.*, v. 482.

⁴ Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 249.

Table knives were common enough, but forks were not in use. In John Dyer's inventory¹ at Boston, in 1696, there is a full assortment of small hardware, but there are no forks. Napkins were as essential in a housewife's equipment as forks became a century later. We can hardly comprehend the changes in ordinary customs these little implements have worked. We get a better idea by considering this in its relation to other provinces of manners. Madam Knight chides the Connecticut farmers for too familiar kindness to their slaves. They allowed them to eat at the same table to save time, "and into the dish goes the black hoof as freely as the white hand."² The delicate school-mistress of to-day would care little whether a hand thrust into the common dish of food was black or white. Her disgust would be excited, not so much by a mingling of races as by the presence of any fingers of flesh where heredity and habit had taught her to expect fingers of iron.

Beer was gradually supplanted by cider in common use. In the Hampshire towns, the price, which had been 10s., fell to 6s. and 7s. about 1700. After this date, in this locality, it replaced beer in ordinary diet. In 1703, for the Commencement dinner at Harvard,³ four barrels of beer were served with one of cider, and with eighteen gallons of wine.

After Sewall⁴ set up his coach, he took his two sons and three daughters in 169⁸ to the Turkshead tavern, at Dorchester. They ate sage-cheese and drank beer and cider. He served wine to his guests, though it does not appear that it was constantly on his table. Frequently

¹ *Suffolk P. R.*, ii. 194; and see John Tinney's stock (*P. R.*, xiv. 46) in 1699; also *Curwin MS.*, Robert Gibbs's invoice in 1699.

² Madam Knight, *Journal*, p. 53.

³ *Proc. M. H. S.* 1860, p. 160; see details of these dinners, 1703, 1707, 1737, 1747.

⁴ *5 M. H. C.*, v. 492.

some member of a family performed the lighter service of the table. When Sewall's daughter Betty was serving wine, almonds, and raisins, "it fell to her to drink to Capt Turner." For some personal reason she avoided the civility, much to her father's annoyance.

The most noteworthy change in diet, effected by the new century, was the introduction of the common ^{Potatoes.} or white potato. A few were imported from the Bermudas¹ as early as 1636, but the use was not general. It is said that some Irish families settled at Londonderry began the culture. At the Harvard Commencement dinner in 1708, a few appear for the first time. Turnips had been the most common vegetable; then onions, carrots, parsnips. Wheat was always shy and uncertain after one generation had cropped the land; the grain or the flour must be imported from more sunny lands. Indian corn was always abundant. The potato furnished starch, and complemented the staple codfish. Indian meal, fish, potatoes, and pork gave all the essentials of a wholesome diet. Cider and vinegar corrected the West Indian sugar and molasses² always coming in; that is, when the molasses did not evolve itself into the fiery rum. Rum was beginning to be the important commercial factor which it came to be later in the century. It was not until the railways made "fresh meat" common, that these great staples of the New England diet were much changed.

Sewall records the occasional good dinners and suppers ^{Sewall's} "treats." with much gusto. When he took his family for an outing to "the Island," they had "first Butter, Honey, Curds and Cream. For Diñers very good rost Lamb, Turkey, Fowls, aple pye. After Diñer sung the 121 Psalm."³

¹ 5 *M. H. C.*, vii. 31.

² More than one tradition tells of the postponement of Thanksgiving until the store of molasses could be replenished. See Caulkins, *New London*, pp. 269, 407.

³ 5 *M. H. C.*, v. 460.

At other times minced pies appear. But this was a typical meal,—the senses tickled with sweet pastry, the spirit soothed by ritualistic singing in sacred themes. This was the New England heaven on earth.

Sewall records¹ the giving of a “splendid treat” in the meeting-house, which has been considered the origin of anniversary week in Boston. The first organs came into use about 1711.² The first organist at King’s Chapel taught dancing also.

The meeting-house was the centre of social life at all times, as I have shown. The largest movements started from this social exchange, and all the smallest were regulated with minute and scrupulous care. Clerk Hill, of old King’s Chapel, was not only church servant, a sexton to ring the bell, seat strangers, sweep, etc. ; he was a church officer clothed with the awful sanctity and the power of a Puritan. By vote he “shall go out and appease ye boys and negroes, and any disorderly Persons.”³ Pews were well established by 1700,⁴ though they were generally assigned by a committee, or by vote of the whole congregation, to particular persons. This seating of the congregation was the most significant of all our customs.⁵ The rules for the assignation and discrimination of seats were formed after the most minute consideration of age,⁶ rank, office, “estate lists,” and of relative amounts furnished toward building the house, or toward the minister’s salary. Dr. Bentley⁷ notes from records in 1699, that seats were assigned for all boys in the meeting-house “not seated on Pulpit Stairs.” The

Seating the
congrega-
tion.

¹ 5 *M. H. C.*, vi. pp. 370, 385.

² Felt, *Salem*, i. 502.

³ *An. King’s Chapel*, i. 158.

⁴ *Hist. Rowley*, p. 84; Pattee, *Braintree*, p. 540; Caulkins, *Norwich*, p. 126; *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 268; Coffin, *Newbury*, p. 167.

⁵ See above, pp. 278-281.

⁶ Framingham, Mass. (*History*, p. 96), votes in 170½, to allow the committee “discretion to seat by age or rate.”

⁷ *Bentley MS.*, Am. Ant. Soc.

school-master's wife was voted a seat in the "Women 2^d Pew." This was in the Salem parish probably. It never was a simple matter, and often an arrangement, or the lack of one, caused serious disturbance. One of the most extraordinary affairs was at Brookhaven, Long Island, in 1703,¹ though there were similar occurrences in all parts of New England.

Several "rude actions" happened in the church there, "much to the dishonor of God and the discouragement of virtue." To prevent the like, all freeholders subscribing 40s. towards the minister's salary were to be seated "at the table." No women were permitted to sit there, "except *Col. Smith's Lady* nor any woman kind." The trustees were to sit in the front seat, and justices who were inhabitants of the town were seated "at the table" whether they paid 40s. or less. Pew No. 1 was for subscribers of 30s., and downward to No. 6 for those of 9s.; No. 7 for the young men; No. 8 for the boys. No. 9 was for ministers' widows and wives, and women whose husbands paid 40s., "to sit according to their age." Then the females went backward in the numbers according to lessening subscriptions, until No. 13 was "for maids;" No. 14 "for girls;" No. 15 "free for any." Captain Clark and Joseph Tooker were to carry out the order. The arrangement lasted about sixteen years, and broke up in dissatisfaction. Frequently new plans were made in three or four years.

Mark the purely social character of the divisions and Social distinction. the distinctions. The family, and the church itself in its own essential nature, were subordinated to the general relations of the individual to the whole community in which he lived.

Among the social distinctions gradually working out, we should allude to the title of "Mister" or "Mr." The every-day man of a Saxon or English community was a "good-

¹ Thomson's *L. I.*, i. 420.

man," and his spouse was a "goodwife." Generally he was a yeoman and owner of land. The great majority of colonists were addressed as "Goodman." Of the freemen of Massachusetts constituted before 1649, only one in fourteen had the title of "Mr."¹ The wife and daughter of a Master or Mr. became Mistress, or "Mrs." The use of "Miss," in indicating any young female, came in after 1720. The common application of Mr., Mrs., and Miss was a gradual recognition of personal rights. It was adopted very slowly.

This period has been called justly the "dark days" of New England in education and social culture. The large men of the seventeenth century —^{The "dark days."} the Pilgrims of the first generation — had gone out; the large men of the eighteenth century — the makers of the new America — had not come in. But in all "dark" periods there are many conflicting lights. Schools were half neglected in many districts;² in a few they were totally neglected. The daughters of men holding important offices in town and church were obliged often to make a mark instead of writing their signature.³ Yet in many places there was a dame school, and women performed important functions in education. Pepperell,⁴ afterwards Sir William, one of the most remarkable of the men of the middle eighteenth century, wrote an elegant hand in his boyhood. But the literary performance of his younger days shows that English grammar was a rare science.⁵ Wretched verses were written. A fulsome rhetoric filled many epistles, and the love-letter⁶ would nauseate even a turtle-dove in modern days. But Sewall and other men of sense wrote good, sturdy English when they touched affairs and the business of common life.

¹ Judd, *Hadley*, pp. 251, 252.

² *N. H. Prov. Pap.*, iii. 524. ³ Caulkins, *New London*, p. 395.

⁴ Parsons, *Life*, pp. 20.

⁵ And see Newhall's *Lynn*, p. 309.

⁶ See Drake, *Roxbury*, p. 254; Caulkins, *Norwich*, p. 155.

No character of the period reflects its distinguishing features more fully than Chief Justice Samuel Sewall. Born in England in 1652, he was brought to the Massachusetts in 1661, and graduated at Harvard in 1671. He preached a short time, and even contemplated trade. It is not clear why he went to reside with John Hull in Boston in 1674 or 1675. This connection had momentous results, for he married Hannah, the mint-master's only child, February 28, 167 $\frac{5}{6}$, receiving her fabled dowry. Tradition puts the bride into the scales of the mint-master, who weighed out her marriage portion in pine-tree shillings stamped from his own dies.

Whether the story be true or not, Sewall's wife brought him more than her weight in silver. Her father died in six years, leaving his fortune, which was large for that time, to his daughter and his widow. It was practically one estate, for the mother lived in the most affectionate intimacy in Judge Sewall's family. In 1690 he gives a child her name, Judith, "that she may follow her Grandmother Hull, as she follows Christ, being not slothfull in Business, fervent in Spirit, serving the Lord. Her Prayers and Painstaking for all my Children are incessant, voluntary, with Condescension to the meanest Services night and day."¹

This solid backing of capital and family influence carried the mild, conscientious, and pious Sewall into important trusts and offices. He became an Assistant in 1684-86; went to England in 1688 for a brief visit. He was annually chosen to the Council, 1692-1725; was a judge from 1692 to 1718, and chief justice until 1728, when he resigned. His diary runs from 1674 to 1729, giving minute details of his daily life and thought; a few years are lost, but casual notes help to supply the defect. He joins the church in 1677, entering formally "into strict Bonds with God." His simple account of these acts

¹ 5 *Mass. H. C.*, v. 328.

is very touching. The Puritan conviction was a genuine passion, and in gentle natures it wrought profound emotion. "I never experienced more unbelief. I feared at least that I did not believe there was such an one as Jesus Xt., and yet was afraid that because I came to the ordinance without belief, that for the abuse of Xt. I should be stricken dead; yet I had earnest desires that Xt. would, before the ordinance were done, though it were when he was just going away, give me some glimpse of himself; but I perceived none. Yet I seemed then to desire the coming of the next Sacrament day, that I might do better, and was stirred up hereby dreadfully to seek God."¹

The fear of being stricken dead was not a mere figure of speech. Providence abode in the morbid ^{The religion of fear.} imagination of the Puritans; entered into their desires, bent their wills under an awful weight of conscience. When Judge Sewall, some twenty years later, made his memorable confession of penitence for his judicial acts in the witchcraft delusion and frenzy, how was he convinced? The lawyer or the mental philosopher in him was not convicted of wrong-doing or defective thinking, but the same sensitive spirit which appears in the shrinking young communicant possesses the mature and responsible man. Having become one of the chief men of the commonwealth, full of power and honors, he stands up, a self-convicted penitent, before the congregation, while his "Bill"² of confession is read. He is convicted, not by any human power, or any knowledge derived from without, but by the direct visitations of Divine Providence, as he regards them. "Sensible of the reiterated strokes of God upon himself and family," after direct reference to his own acts in the court at Salem, he "desires to take the blame and shame of it," asking for the prayers of his brethren that God may "not visit the sin of him, or of

¹ 5 Mass. H. C., v. 47.

² *Ibid.*, v. 445.

any other, upon himself or any of his, nor upon the land." He is constantly seeking some visible sign which shall interpret the life about him, and fit it into the life depicted in the Scriptures. Curious problems of prophecy and Bible interpretation interest him. He asks Mr. Brinsmead to "pray for drying up the River Euphrates"¹ casually; not in the same sense in which they prayed for rain in a drought, but that the truths of Revelation might be opened through some new manifestation. "The Lost Tribes," "The Peopling of America," and such questions were as familiar to him as statute law. He embodied these ideas in a book, *Phenomena Quædam Apocalypticæ*, which went through two editions.

This Providential interference in common life was a Puritan view of Providence. definite factor in the half-ecclesiastical, half-political systems of the Puritans. The Mathers, father and son, have a bitter controversy with Sewall about some trifling matter. The layman appears to be the better saint in the affair. Increase finally says, "If I am a Servant of Jesus Christ, some great Judgment will fall on Capt Sewall, or his family."² During the altercation Judge Sewall had read a sermon, "Sanctified Afflictions are good promotions. I found it now a Cordial." His house is entered by burglars, who take away twenty pounds' worth of plate and personal effects, the loss of which is vexatious. "I said, Is not this an Answer of Prayer?"

This pious judge and careful citizen³ exerts himself in many ways in the business of the state and for the good of his fellows. He is constant in his duties as a member

¹ 5 *Mass. H. C.*, v. 68.

² *Ibid.*, vi. 45.

³ His conscience regulated every expenditure. He imported (6 *M. H. C.*, i. 130, 133) quoins or blocks of freestone from England for the corners of his new house. They cost more than was expected. He bewails it in this fashion: "The costliness of them bespeaks a Grandeur far beyond my estate."

of the Council, and his reëlection from time to time shows that his service was well appreciated. Pirates were a constant annoyance, and in 1704, when Quelch's brigantine, Charles, was off Marblehead, "Hon. Saml Sewall, Nath Byfield, and Paul Dudley Esqrs."¹ were sent to the coast with the governor's orders to arrest them. They acted with energy, and dispatched the judge's brother Major Stephen Sewall, with a company, who seized the offenders.

Quelch and his gang were hung, June 30, 1704, and Sewall describes the execution in the fullest detail and with painful realism. Seven were dispatched at once. "When the scaffold was let to sink, there was such a Screech of the Women that my wife heard it sitting in our Entry next to the Orchard, and was much surprised at it; yet the wind was Sou-west. Our house is a full mile from the place."² This was the interest manifested by one of the gentlest, best-instructed men of the whole community. What must have been its effect upon the ignorant and vulgar? Their lives were so bare and devoid of interest that they sought apparently for some excitement of an unnatural kind.

The judge often pitches the tune for the public psalm-singing which occurs on almost all occasions of worship or festivity. Meetings, preachings, training days, social gatherings are all alike enlivened by the lyre of David.³ On the training day of the artillery company, "after dinner, we sung four verses of the 68th PS. Some objected against our singing so much. I answer'd, Twas but *Four Deep.*" The Thursday lecture, sometimes called "the Great and Thursday," filled the place in the eighteenth century which the opera takes in the nineteenth. Sewall takes his wife or mother-in-law or a lady friend behind his saddle, and

¹ *Bos. News Let.*, June 9, 16, 1704.

² *5 Mass. H. C.*, vi. 110.

³ *Ibid.*, vi. 55.

They enjoy
the gallows.

rides to Natick or Dorchester for a "Treat," one of his favorite words indicating pleasure. He lodges two nights at Salem on one of his frequent professional journeys, that he may not miss the lecture. It seems to be a constant source of delight, as he notices its occurrence, both in Boston and the other towns of his circuit.

The idea of pleasure prevailing then is hard to comprehend under our changed conditions. He goes ^{An "Awful Treat."} into the family tomb, makes proper changes in the coffins there, which he records in great detail, then concludes the affair in these words: "'T was an awful yet pleasing Treat."¹ This occurs on Christmas Day. There is no evidence that he went on that particular day to show his aversion to the seasonable observance of it, but we may assume that to be the fact. He delights to find shops open, and country carts coming in, on that day. He is careful to note in many instances his distaste for the superstitious practices of the Anglican Church which were creeping in. He avoids a funeral that he may not hear the burial service. "The office for Burial is a Lying, very bad office; makes no difference between the precious and the vile. Jer. XV. 19."² It is not material whether or not he thought of Christmas Day when he went into the tomb. But it is certain that it was not a mere gratification of curiosity, or the sense of the marvellous, which he embodies in his significant phrase. The experience was a treat, because, though awful in its physical conditions and fleshly surroundings, it brought him nearer the unseen world which he so loved.

The inner world of the spirit pressed outward, filling ^{Agony of the Spirit.} the world of sense and material things with an ethereal atmosphere transcending nature, but which became to the Puritan the natural afflatus of his own being. Sabbaths are severe enough, but the fast is the true holiday of these souls torn by an agony of faith.

¹ 5 Mass. H. C., v. 443.

² *Ibid.*, vi. 235.

No rest or peace comes in this beneficent season. Work for the soul, patient introspection, a solemn sense of sin, possesses the devotee ; then doubtful prayers of anguish flood the suffering man with penitence. The records of these experiences are many ; none are more pathetic than Sewall's : —

"The Apointment of a Judge for the Super. Court being to be made upon next Fifth day, Febr. 12, I pray'd God to Accept me in Keeping a privat day of Prayer with Fasting for That and other Important Matters : I kept it upon the Third Day Febr. 10, 170⁷ in the uper Chamber at the North-East end of the House, fastening the Shutters next the Street." ¹

Then he brings himself, his wife, children, and relations, man and maid servants, to the bar of this august conscience, baptising each with the Holy Ghost and with fire. In minute detail he reviews his own acts, the circumstances of the state, great and little occasions of public duty, the particular possible Providence of this conjuncture : all these present and spiritually practical affairs are invoked in awful reverence, "that where Sin hath abounded, Grace may Superabound." The father, citizen, judge, Christian, of Massachusetts, humbly sets his house in order, and wrestles with these demoniac angels his own inflamed imagination has conjured out of the life about him. "These were gen^l heads of my Meditation and prayer ; and through the bounteous ^{"A comfortable day."} Grace of God, I had a very Comfortable day of it. The reading of Mr. Tho. Horton's Sermon upon a Monethly Fast, before the House of Lords xv. 30, 1646, was a great furtherance of me, which was hapily put into my hand by Major Walley the latter end of last Moneth. I rec'd a Letter from Mr. Rawson at Nantucket about 2 p. m." ²

The actual value of the doctrine of Sewall and his con-

¹ 5 Mass. H. C., vi. 216.

² Ibid., p. 217.

temporaries, weighed by any just criticism and construed in any universal terms, is not great.¹ The parts of their system most valued by themselves have fallen, overcome by a better philosophy and a wider knowledge. But who can estimate sufficiently the social power of their faith, its efficient manifestations, its productive results?

The men with whom Sewall marched, drilled, and sung,
New England for whom he prayed, took Louisburgh out of character. the strong hand of France a generation later. That was an operation projected and carried in defiance of all known rules of solid warfare. The lawyer Shirley's plan for a surprise² of the place, and an immediate night attack, was as sagacious as amateur strategy usually proves to be. Pepperell, the general, was a merchant and militia colonel; his troops were raw levies brought against a regular fortress curtained and bastioned by all the skill the Old World could afford. Yet the enterprise succeeded. Circumstances favored where many a better-planned expedition has failed. The prayers of the provinces went up in prescribed appeals for victory over the enemies of the Lord. It was thought that Providence interfered and turned the scale in favor of the Puritan children of Jehovah. It did interfere without doubt, but not in the way fancied by the invaders. The sturdy New England men who harnessed themselves to the siege guns, and dragged them through the slippery mud of the trenches, did a work beyond the power of oxen, and created a force far mightier than gunpowder. The story repeated itself at Bunker Hill; the banners were changed, but the results were the same. Science and skill failed before this inbred resolution, this faith in the Unseen, which the New World imbibed

¹ For example, Sewall (*5 M. H. C.*, v. 428) argued for numbering the days of the week. "The week only of all parcels of time was of Divine Institution, erected by God as a monumental pillar for a memorial of the Creation perfected in so many distinct days."

² Belknap, *N. H.*, ii. 209.

from its Protestant Bible, and which it nourished by its weird interpretations, its ascetic fasts, its stern devotion to duty. Childlike and wise, learned and simple, mild but inflexible, Judge Sewall went his way among his neighbors, holding fast the faith of his fathers. We may believe that he was, what he hoped but never claimed to be, a chosen vessel of the Lord, though changed methods and clearer thinking have made his statements chimerical, his system fantastic.

That was a severe climate, within and without, which nourished the hardy sinews and inspired the firm nerves of the Northern colonists. The diarist notes : “This day so cold that the Sacramental Bread is frozen pretty hard, and rattles sadly as broken into the Plates.”¹ We hear the solemn ringing of the church plate across the centuries: it is not so easy to feel the warm thrill of joy which their active faith carried into those chilling days. The “New England men,” whom Sewall mentions often in fond words, grew from this inner conviction and this outward circumstance. The controlling feature of their development was in the essential individuality of each man and woman. Each did his own work, however and wherever it might lie. If he was rich and received service, he also served others; if poor, the same man under different conditions lived in a social and political, almost an ecclesiastical, republic. There was an individual flavor in all the work of the time.

Sewall preaches at his mother’s grave;² his affection ministering unto his own grief in very proper terms. Captain of the artillery company, he takes his turns at the night watch of Boston, recording his patrols as religiously as his attendance at meeting. We have noted in what detail the rich grandmother cared for the little children. John Hull invited Sewall’s sister Jane to live

¹ 5 *Mass. H. C.*, v. 118.

² *Ibid.*, vi. 30.

in his family until she should "change her condition." She appears at times for many years, ministering and serving in a graceful manner.

The iron-bound faith, which on the whole produced ^{Oppression of the young.} such good results in the elders, weighed heavily upon the youth. Young Samuel Sewall and his sister each suffered untold tortures in the morbid consciousness which so much introspection excited. It cannot be presumed that young persons reared in such a family were very wicked. No actions or facts show them other than the purest and best young souls. But the agony of their contrition is more painful than the shock of the frozen sacramental bread. "Betty comes in to me almost as soon as I was up and tells me the disquiet she had when waked; told me was afraid should go to Hell, was like Spira, not Elected. Ask'd her what I should pray for."¹ Later on, "Betty can hardly read her chapter for weeping; tells me she is afraid she is gon back, does not taste that sweetness in reading the Word which once she did; fears that what was once upon her is worn off." Observe the curious intermingling of spirit and sense in the imagination; a half-materialistic, half-idealistic condition, a dervish-like intoxication, is induced. An emanation, a moral galvanism, comes from the book, which wears off when the current weakens. It is the same peculiar ecstasy the father felt in the tomb, awful yet pleasing, as he terms it.

Dear old fellow, upright judge, good father and citizen! ^{Sewall's fine humanity.} zen, whimsical man! I leave him with regret. He is greater in his contrition over his judicial errors at Salem than most men are in the pride of victory. He wastes long hours mourning over periwigs and the incoming of Christmas festivals, but he was one of the first to make an effective protest against negro slavery. Wilberforce was born in 1759, Clarkson in

¹ 5 *Mass. H. C.*, v. 423.

1760. In 1700 Judge Sewall printed a pamphlet,¹ "thinking whether the Foundation of it (slavery) be firmly and well laid." He discusses the economic side of the "question whether all the Benefit received by *Negro Slaves*, will balance the accompt of Cash laid out upon them." The scriptural argument he confounds badly, as every one else did. "The Blackmures are not descended of *Canaan*, but of *Cush*." He ends with this remarkable statement: "These *Ethiopians*, as black as they are ; seeing they are the Sons and Daughters of the First *Adam*, the Brethren and Sisters of the last *ADAM*, and the offspring of *GOD* ; They ought to be treated with a Respect agreeable."

A century and a half of Old and New England culture, with the French Revolution by the way, added little to this powerful rendering of the rights of man.

¹ 5 *Mass. H. C.*, vi. 16.

CHAPTER XI.

THE WHALE FISHERY.

1713-1745.

WE take up a link in the commercial development of our colonies, not dropped, but purposely avoided hitherto, in order that we might treat it specially, and give it that prominence its importance demands. Seventeen hundred and thirteen, the year of the first pursuit of the valuable sperm whale, seems to be a proper pivot for the introduction of this especial commercial industry..

New England did not invent the whale fishery, but she adopted and developed it early, threw into it that characteristic courage, energy, and enterprise which finally carried her whaling vessels into every sea, disputed the prey with every nation, and triumphed over the whole world in the skilful adaptation of her native resources to this peculiar business. The method of whaling on shares, or "a lay," matured late in the eighteenth century, was the best coöperation of capital, capitaliser, and laborer ever accomplished. This excellent industrial system will maintain interest in the history of the fishery long after the oil has lost its relative commercial importance.

Even now we are fast losing appreciation of the value The "royal" fish. these "royal" fishes had in the seventeenth century. Light is the greatest boon to mankind; artificial light is the best instrument of civilisation. Electricity, natural and artificial hydrogen, petroleum, lard, vegetable nuts and seeds of many kinds, yield their hidden rays of light in increasing brilliancy as the years mul-

tiply inventions. Now the meanest peasant's hut blazes under a lamp and light Louis XIV. might have envied ; then a pine splinter or wretched tallow-dipped candle lighted the homes of independent citizens. The oil from these mighty fish brought better light into the darkness of the time. Whalebone, or baleen, the fringed plates through which the right whale sifted his food, was and is one of the finest substances nature gives to the arts ; uniting the solidity and strength of metal to the elasticity of a reed. The toothed whales stored spermaceti in their blunt heads, and their teeth afforded an ivory inferior only to the tusk of the elephant. Ambergris secreted in their intestines, sometimes thrown out to float upon the sea, was of wonderful value, furnishing the best staying element, the basis of perfumes. Altogether this leviathan of the deep, whose massive bulk and latent force inflamed the poetic imagination of the olden time, was indeed worthy to be named a kingly fish.

Our business with the *Cetacea* is commercial, resting in the comparatively brief period when they have served the varied wants of man. They have a place in nature, and a scientific interest to which our bit of history is a mere episode. Far back in prehistoric time, the ancestors of these fish are held by competent authority to have been land mammals, splashing through the marshes and wallowing along the mud of river bottoms. Gradually their clumsy limbs merged into fins, their dangling tails developed into swimming propellers and steering rudders. Finally they left the shores and dwelt in the sea.

Our history first notes these creatures where they revert to the abiding places of their ancestors. The right or fin whales, *mystacoceti*, the full-grown male being 55 or 60 feet long, were so numerous in early colonial days that, from various causes, they stranded, especially on Cape Cod and Long Island, and their bodies lay adrift on the shore. These drift whales

Abundance
in early
times.

were prizes for the lucky finders, and disputes began at once as to the relative rights of the colony — claiming under the crown — and the parties laboring to secure the property. In 1652 Sandwich appointed six men to secure and divide oil-bearing fish the Indians might cut up within the town limits; again it appointed agents to receive the oil for the country.¹ In 1653 the town enacted that "the pay of all whales shall belong to every householder and to every young man that is his own equally." Any one discovering a whale ashore, and placing his oar by the carcass, could swear to these facts and prove his discovery. Several occurrences are recorded, and there was much controversy in the years succeeding. The value of the privileges appears in the contract made by Sandwich with three men, who were to have all drift whales at £16 each.

The Old Colony² recognised riparian rights in 1654 by Drift whales. providing that all whales cast up against private lands should become the property of the owners.

Referring to the accounts at Sandwich, we see the reason for the colonial act in 1661.³ The colony grants to four towns the privilege of all drift whales for one hogshead or two barrels of oil delivered in Boston for each one taken.

The shore whaling began earlier on Long Island. Southampton, settled by emigrants from Lynn, regulated the business as early as 1645;⁴ and Connecticut granted a monopoly of her fishery to M. Whiting, a merchant of Hartford, in 1647.⁵ It attracted the notice of the Dutch West India Company, who wrote to Stuyvesant in 1652 to encourage the fishery that they "understand might at some seasons of the year be carried on."⁶

Either the whales were not so abundant for about fif-

¹ Freeman, *Cape Cod*, pp. 50, 51.

² *Plymouth C. R.*, ii. 53.

³ *Plymouth C. R.*, iv. 6, 9.

⁴ Starbuck, *Hist. Whale Fy.*, p. 10.

⁵ *Col. Rec. Conn.*, i. 154.

⁶ *Doc. N. Y.*, xiv. 194.

teen years, or the art of pursuing and catching them in boats developed very slowly, for we find few traces of the business in this interim. The lack of returns appears in a memorial presented at Whitehall by the Long Island towns in 1672. They state that they have spent "much time and paines and the greatest part of their Estates" in pursuing the fishery for above twenty years, but could not "bring it to any perfection till within these two or three yeares."¹ This corresponds to the statement of Samuel Maverick to Colonel Nicolls, in 1669, that there were twelve or thirteen whales taken in the winter season; also that they were seen daily in the very harbor of New York.² He writes also to Sampson Bond in the same year that there were twenty whales gotten in the spring.³ Scott notes the abundance of whales about Delaware Bay in 1667.⁴

The pursuit of the whales by the Long Islanders was by boats and in regular trips, for which they engaged men for the season from November 1 to April 1. Indians were skilful in the business, and there are many records⁵ of contracts with them; one puts the wages at 3s. per day in 1668. Indian service was so much in demand that the authorities⁶ at New York, in 1672, were obliged to prohibit the giving of more than one trucking-cloth coat to an Indian for each whale found, or he might have half the blubber with no bone. There were many complaints from the Indians to the government. Harpoons and lines or "warpes" were used as early as 1669.⁷ Watching for the fish from the shore was a public duty enjoined upon each responsible citizen, both at Long Island and in the colony of Plymouth.⁸

¹ Starbuck, p. 10.

² *Doc. Col. N. Y.*, iii. 183.

³ *M. H. C.*, vii. 318.

⁴ *Cal. Br. S. P.* 1660, p. 533.

⁵ Thompson, *L. I.*, i. 312.

⁶ *Doc. Col. N. Y.*, xiv. 675, 713, 720, 885.

⁷ Starbuck, p. 11; and Thompson, *L. I.*, i. 313.

⁸ *Plym. C. R.*, ii. 213.

James Loper, probably of Long Island, was engaged by the people of Nantucket¹ — then Sherburne — to carry on a “design of whale catching” in 1672, but it does not appear that the agreement was consummated. This town was destined to become the chief mart of the eighteenth century fishery, but the accounts of its progress before 1690 are very hazy. In that year the tradition runs that an islander, looking from a hill at the whales tumbling and spouting out at sea, said, “There is a green pasture where our children’s grandchildren will go for bread.”²

The Nantucket “pasture.”

Whatever prophets may have said, the actors did something of more consequence. They were inferior to those of Cape Cod in the fishery, and in 1690 they brought thence Ichabod Paddock, who instructed the islanders in catching and killing, and in extracting the oil. “Saving” the whale was the technical process for securing the blubber. After the carcass was towed ashore, a “crab,” or peculiar capstan, hove and turned the blubber off as fast as it was cut from the whale. They carted it to the “try-houses,” — then near their dwellings, — where they tried out the oil and prepared it for market.

Boat whaling had now become a well-established pursuit.³ Randolph reports the “great profit by whaling.” whale killing” in Plymouth Colony. The export to England in 1687 he puts at 200 tons of oil; “one of our best returns.”⁴ In 1688 the General Court⁵ of Massachusetts made careful regulations which show the importance of the business. A whale struck and then adrift was regarded as a matter of public interest;⁶ for it was provided that if any one should “toss her on shore,” the owners should allow him 30s., and the same sum for

¹ Macy, p. 28.

² Macy, *Nantucket*, pp. 28, 29, 31.

³ Felt, *Salem*, ii. 223.

⁴ *Hutchinson Papers*, ii. 300.

⁵ *Mass. Arch.*, cxxviii. 80.

⁶ Also see Freeman, *Cape Cod*, p. 73.

saving the blubber and bone. If it proved a "floatson" not killed by men, the "Admiral" could assign it as he pleased. No one could cut up any drift whale until it was "viewed" by two disinterested persons. No whale to be "foolishly lanced behind ye vitals." Each company's harpoons and lances were to have a "public mark." Whales found and "no iron in them, then they that lay ye neerest claime to them by thaire strokes and ye nasoral marks to have them." If several companies claimed equally, then they should share together.

While the Massachusetts burghers were working out their system of whale-fishery, Louis XIV. was trying to establish it in Canada.¹ The king was so much interested in this colonial enterprise that he wrote in his own hand and with considerable detail to Denonville, the governor. Afterward he ordered boats, cordage, and some Bayonne harpooners sent to his representative in Canada. Four years later, he complained that these whale and cod fisheries, though often helped, were of slight account.

The development of the fishery in Nova Scotia² proceeded on lines similar to those traced in New England. Every man of sufficient capacity to be noticed and trusted was detailed to watch in his turn for whales from lookout stations on the shores. The whites also employed Indians in the business.

The drift whales did not disappear, but they became scarcer. Duxbury appointed John Wadsworth to view those "that may be cast ashore in the year 1690."³ But as early as 1681, Andros reported that very few whales were driven on shore, unless proved to have been struck by the fishermen. When the shores were well watched and boats patrolled the fishing grounds, there were few stranded leviathans. Nantucket divided its south shore into four parts by companies regularly assigned. The

¹ Parkman, *Old Régime*, p. 293.

² Haliburton, p. 303.

³ *Hist. of Duxbury*, Winsor, p. 86.

boat fishery was active in the latter part of the seventeenth century and in the opening years of the next. Boats went out from New London to fish about Fisher's Island as late as 1718.¹ An interesting memorandum left in manuscript by Madam Martha Smith,² widow, of St.

^{A woman's business.} George's Manor, Long Island, reveals the conduct of these particular affairs in 1707, and the solid, practical ability of the colonial matrons in all affairs. In January of that year "my company" killed a yearling whale, and made 27 bbls. February 4, Indian Harry from his own boat struck a whale, but could not kill it. Mrs. Smith's boat was called to his assistance, and received one third, or 4 bbls of oil. February 22, "my two boats and my son's and Floyd's boats" killed a yearling; product 36 bbls. Her share was one half. "A school whale" yielded 35 bbls. Two days in March were successful, one giving prizes in two yearlings, which yielded 27 bbls. and 14 bbls. Mrs. Smith paid in June to the authorities at New York, on Lord Cornbury's warrant, £15 15s. as a tithe or tax, it being one twentieth part of her season's prizes.

This tax imposed by the royal governors was one of ^{Irritating royalty.} the most irritating grievances of the time. Andros failed in exacting a royalty in 1681.³ Bellomont, in 1700, seized a whale found on the beach bearing the private marks of the person who killed it, and imprisoned one Floyd, who was employed by the owner to cut up the carcass.⁴ Lord Cornbury "gave out that the whale was a Royal fish," and would suffer no fishing without a license for which the crown should be paid. Governor Dongan seized all drift whales, but laid no claim on any killed at sea. Governor Dudley, of Massachusetts, in 1705, according to Sewall,⁵ seized the whales taken by

¹ Caulkins, *New London*, p. 638.

² Thompson, *Long Island*, i. 438.

⁴ *Doc. N. Y.*, iv. 622.

³ *Doc. N. Y.*, iii. 311.

⁵ *5 Mass. H. C.*, vi. 39.

boats, "under a Pretence of drift fish," and would not try the questions at common law, but decided them in "the Admiralty." Samuel Mulford, of East Hampton, Long Island, went to England in 1715,¹ and represented these grievances very forcibly at Whitehall. He succeeded in obtaining partial relief. The governor at New York reported to the Lords of Trade that he had remitted the five per cent. tax and required a license, "which is asserting the King's right, tho' I neglect my own profit."

No viking or rover in any sea ever bent a bolder oar, or swept more stormy seas, than the Norse-descended men who vexed the shores of Cape Cod ^{The splendid venture.} and Nantucket with their venturesome keels. They and the generations following them developed the whaleboat, best of all craft in a violent sea, "perfect as the combined skill of the million men who have risked life and limb in service could make it."² The cod fisheries were larger, more staple, and necessary, but these whale products were an important constituent in the commercial prosperity of this period. Oil and bone furnished the lively element in the exchanges so essential for an active trade. Randolph perceived that the place left vacant by the decline of fur exports must be filled by oil.³

John Hull shows us how the trade in oil was conducted after it was "saved." As early as 1670, he notes in his diary that the Long Islanders had made 100 or 200 tons of oil in the winter.⁴ Boston became the commercial port for this industry, and Hull probably introduced the trade. In 1675 we have the method of a voyage represented in his instructions to John Harris,⁵ ^{Management of a voyage.} whom he sends in the ketch Seaflower to Long

¹ *Doc. N. Y.*, v. 474.

² For description see Starbuck, *Hist.*, p. 123.

³ *Hutchinson Papers*, ii. 300.

⁴ John Hull, *Diary*, p. 31.

⁵ John Hull, *Letter Book*, Am. Ant. Soc.

Island. He orders the captain to stow his "oyles" with great care, and to fill all the chinks in the cargo with whalebone, which is to be of large size. The vessel was partly loaded from Boston with miscellaneous goods, which were to be sold at Long Island, or returned by a chance vessel. Harris is to sell the oil and bone in England, then, if the current prices allow it, to take up exchange on France, and load there with "good salts." But the captain is left some discretion in the event that "the Lord's providence shall discover any bett^r improvement of yo^r ketch which wee Cannot foresee." If, on advising with specified correspondents in England, a direct return seems more feasible, the Seaflower is to bring back bulky goods like "course wicker flasketts, Allom, Coppress, drum Rims, head snares, shod shovells, window glass." If a part of the freight proceeds is to be returned, while the vessel goes to France, it is to be invested in more valuable and lighter goods, like "black Ducape and Lutestringe." The voyage was in joint account with partners whom Hull does not name. The Lord is to be enlisted, not in mere form, but as an active co-worker. "That hee may please to take the Conduct of you, wee pray you looke carefully that hee bee worshipped dayly in yo^r shipp, his Sabbaths Sanctifiede & all sin and prophainess let bee Supressed."

Whalebone was an important article in the toilette of stately European ladies. At a later day their stays were satirised as "whalebone prisons." The oil appears often in the movement of commerce ;¹ in 1690 Massachusetts² makes two shipments to London, 144 bbls. and 152 bbls., for account of the treasury. A cargo from Boston to Amsterdam includes 748 bbls. of oil "of New England fishing."³ About 1720 Nantucket sought a direct market, exporting to London. The General Court granted a patent of 21 years to Thomas Houghton⁴ for a whale

¹ Felt, *Salem*, ii. 248.

² *Andros Tract*, iii. 34.

³ *Mass. Arch.*, lxii. 69.

⁴ *Mass. Arch.*, lxiii. 76.

lamp, a whale gun, and a method for utilising the lean of this unctuous creature. Apparently no results came from the inventions.

The culminating year of boat whaling in Nantucket is put by Macy¹ in 1726; it lingered until 1760. Then 86 whales were taken there in boats; the greatest number for one day was 11. Drift whales appear in the Boston newspapers,—a finback at Nantasket in 1719,² and again in 1720;³ at Marblehead in 1723;⁴ and a flotsam “between the Capes” with a harpoon “in her” in 1725.⁵ Always in the feminine, these valuable strays are brought into the Admiralty Court with every formality of advertisement to secure justice to possible claimants. Whale warps were a good merchandise in Boston.⁶

But the boats and oars were gradually displaced by larger craft under sail, fitted for voyaging, as the whales kept away from the persecuting shores, to be pursued into the deep seas. In 1698 the first vessel was registered at Nantucket, the sloop Mary, of 25 tons; nine, all sloops, were registered to 1714. The Hope, 40 tons, was the largest, built in Boston and entered by Peter Coffin, of a family long identified with the triumphs of the Nantucket fishery. In 1723 the “Straight” Wharf,⁷ a better dock than the old landing-places, was built, and this indicates the increase of sailing vessels.

Thus far we have followed the mariner in his pursuit of the baleen, or right whale, rich in bone, and bearing a great quantity of blubber, which made ^{The sperm whale.} the common or whale oil. The sperm whale, blunt-headed *Cachalot*, or *Catodon Macrocephalus*, was a fish of higher

¹ Macy, *Nantucket*, p. 31.

² *Bos. Gazette*, Feb. 29th.

³ *Bos. News Letter*, Feb. 15th.

⁴ *Bos. News Letter*, Aug. 22d.

⁵ *Ibid.*, July 15th.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Nov. 29, 1723; and *Ibid.*, Oct. 5, 1713.

⁷ Starbuck, *History*, p. 21.

grade. There was little difference in size; a full-grown male of either species was 55 to 60 feet long. The *Cachalot* carried in his clumsy head spermaceti, the best material for an illuminating candle next to wax; and his blubber yielded an illuminating fluid much superior to the gross oil of the other species. Sperm oil is also one of the very best lubricators known to-day.

Sperm whales seldom if ever touched the shores. Christopher Hussey,¹ a Nantucket whaleman, cruising for the ordinary game, was carried by a stiff northerly wind a long distance from land. He struck a school of these fish, killed one and brought it home. This was about 1712. It was not a discovery; for as early as 1688, Timotheus Vanderuen petitioned² Governor Andros, in Boston, for a commission, in brigantine Happy Return of New York, for a voyage after "Sperma Coeti whales and Racks," about the "Bohames Islands And Cap Florida;" the outfit consisting of 12 mariners, 12 whalemen, and 6 Divers." No record shows whether the voyage was consummated or no, but the whales and their haunts were known. The business did not establish itself at that time; but Hussey's accidental venture opened a new prospect for the whole business. The depleted grounds of the right whale along the shore no longer kept the more energetic fishermen. The Nantucket men especially, in vessels of about 30 tons, sailed out into the "deep," as the term was, to distinguish these voyages from shore whaling. They fitted for a cruise of about six weeks, carrying a few hogsheads, which served to bring the blubber home. The owners then tried out the oil in houses near the landing, the vessels being dispatched again as soon as they were unloaded.

The addition of the sperm voyages to the shore whaling had given a considerable impulse to the whole business.

¹ Macy, *Nantucket*, p. 36.

² *Mass. Arch.*, cxxix. 126.

Yet in 1715¹ there were in commission only 6 sloops, averaging 38 tons; their annual catch was about 600 bbls. oil and 11,000 lbs. bone, valued at £1,100. Eight or ten years later,² schooners of 40 or 50 tons were added to the fleet, and there was a marked increase in the business as it became more profitable. While they could obtain prizes near the shore, vessels of moderate size could cruise there, or go to sea, at will. As the shore catch diminished more and more, they increased the tonnage of their craft, and extended their voyages. In 1730, 25 vessels 38 to 50 tons reported about 3,700 bbls. at £7 per ton, amounting to £3,200.³ They cruised southward until July, when they went to the Grand Bank and completed the season; if fortunate, they came home earlier with a full cargo. A few years later they stretched northward to Davis Straits.⁴ The sloops were now built of 60 or 70 tons. Each vessel carried four or eight Indians in her crew; they made efficient whalers. In winter the vessels were drawn up on the Nantucket sands; the boats were ranked bottom upward and tied together, to resist the fierce gales; and the whaling gear was stored in the warehouses.

As the business expanded, it not only created capital but drew it from other quarters. Mr. Thomas Amory, in 1728, writes to an English correspondent: "You will find good encouragement in the whale-fishery — many here and at Nantucket are engaged in it and there is a great deal of money made in it."⁵ In Robert Hale's⁶ voyage to Nova Scotia in 1731, his diary notes two or three whales two miles off, again a large whale two leagues off, then abundance of whales, and off "Mount Dessart" a sailor struck one with a pole. Rhode Island offered a bounty, and in 1733 Benjamin Thurston

Sails increased gradually.

¹ 1 M. H. C., iii., and iv. p. 161.

² Macy, *Nantucket*, p. 38.

³ 1 M. H. C., iii., and iv. p. 161.

⁴ Starbuck, *Hist.*, p. 24.

⁵ Amory, *MS. Letters*.

⁶ *MS. Diary*, Am. Ant. Soc.

secured the firstfruits, bringing into Newport 114 bbls. oil and 200 lbs. bone by the sloop Pelican.¹ The business was followed there for about half a century.

In 1743 Douglass says that "now"² they cut up the whale at sea, and thus save time over the old process of towing into harbor. The "saving" of the blubber³ on shipboard was done much earlier. The same authority says that each vessel carried two whaleboats and thirteen men; each boat carried a harpooner, a steersman, and four rowers.

In 1745 the British government raised the bounty on oil to 40s. per ton. About this time the Nantucket men began to export to London direct, and to save for themselves the profits of the middlemen in Boston. They brought returns in iron, shipstores, and other English goods for their own consumption.

This interesting and peculiar industry must merge its Romance in self hereafter in the general current of our commerce. It is a fascinating theme. Nowhere in the whole history and evolution of peaceful commerce has such actual romance emanated, as glowed in the voyages and lives of these homely men. These common folk, in their contest with the monsters of the sea,—first with oars, then with sails,—easily paralleled the old life of viking and sea rover. The mature energies of the higher developed races are illustrated in old tradition of boat-whaling times. The Indians, as has been stated, were good individual whalemen; they served well in combination with the stronger and wiser race. Once the fleet of boats was six miles from shore when a sudden north wind with snow threatened to drive them away out to sea. In one boat were four Indians and two white men, pulling hard, but hardly holding their own against wind and

¹ R. I. C. R., iv. 484.

² Douglass, *Summary*, i. 61, 296.

³ For the process, see Scammon's *Mamma*, or citations in Starbuck's *Hist.*, p. 52.

current. They began to lose heart. An old Indian cried out in his native guttural, — thus rendered to us, — “Pull ahead with courage ; don’t lose heart ; we shall not be lost now ; there are too many Englishmen to be lost now.” Mind reinforced muscle ; the faint-hearted crew renewed their pluck, and after a long pull reached the shore.

After the full development of the deep-sea fishery, New England easily led all the world. The discipline of a sea-king’s ship, the intense, united interest of a democratic assembly, were combined in that joint or “lay” system which pushed the business in its prime. All the perils of the seas were customary experience to these gallant men, who almost exterminated the whale in the north and south Atlantic, then crossed into the Pacific, and finally followed him into his remotest haunts in the icy Arctic and Antarctic oceans. Scientific expeditions, pushed with all the power of government, actuated by all the enthusiasm of ardent and thirsting intellects, have been assisted and often outstripped by these homely sailors following their vocation.

Generally these monster fish were not combative. Many injuries and wounds were received, which were the results of accidents, the erratic issues of so much force latent in beast and sea and storm, released by the incidents of the chase, and causing the injury or death of the hunters. Sometimes, however, the vast creature, aroused from his passive career, became animate with a force and will proportioned to his bulk. Often, when in this mood, he attacked boats deliberately, crushing them like egg-shells, killing and destroying whatever his massive jaws seized in their horrid nip. His rage was as tremendous as his bulk ; when will brought a purpose to his movement, the art of man was no match for the erratic power of this creature. Then he spurned the boats and attacked the homes of his pursuers. In

New England excels.

Occasional attacks.

two remarkable instances,¹ viz., the ships Essex, of Nantucket, and Ann Alexander, of New Bedford, the whale showed the purpose and skill of a higher animal in working the instant destruction of these vessels. A large sperm whale attacked the Essex, first diving or sinking to increase his speed. He came up about a ship's length off, and going three miles an hour, the ship moving at an equal rate. He made directly for her, striking with his head just forward of her fore-chains. "The ship," says the mate, "brought up as suddenly and violently as if she had struck a rock, and trembled for a few seconds like a leaf." She began to settle, but this was only a prelude. He came again, now going six miles an hour, and the Essex half as much. His head crashed through her bows, staving them in. There was bare time to provision and man the boats; a part of the crew were saved after long exposure in the boats, and untold sufferings.

In the case of the Ann Alexander, the whale was harpooned and fast to the line; he ran a short distance, then turned and crushed the boat; then he smashed a second boat as deliberately as the first. This was about six miles from the vessel and in the forenoon. About sunset, the same whale was seen by Captain Deblois, who, iron in hand, was watching from the knight-heads of the vessel, then going about five knots. In another instant the fighting monster rushed upon the ship at a speed of fifteen knots, striking "a terrible blow about two feet from the keel and just abreast of the foremast, breaking a large hole through her bottom, through which the water poured in a rushing stream."² The crew saved their lives in the boats, though these possessions were still precarious, as less than one day's food was secured from the sinking vessel. Fortunately in two days they were rescued from their boats by a passing ship. About five months after this occurrence this historic whale was taken,

¹ Starbuck, *Hist.*, pp. 116-122. ² Starbuck, *Hist. Wh. Fishery*, p. 120.

having two of the Ann Alexander's harpoons in him. His head had been severely wounded, and pieces of ship timber were embedded in it.

These are but typical instances of the fighting powers of the whale, of which many are recorded. Yet they are few, compared with the immense number of whales caught, and in proportion to the myriad fleet pursuing them through all these years. Generally mishaps to boat or crew were caused by tremendous blows from the enormous tail, which lashed the seas in the agony of the creature's death-wounds.

These incidents occurred in the present century, after the fishery had become an art developed with all the energy and skill of generations of capable men. The hardy boatmen of Nantucket and southern New England — whose valor inspired the respect and secured the coöperation of the bravest and strongest Indians — laid the foundation of these distant ocean fisheries. Shore whalers began the dangerous and exciting chase, their cruises reaching farther and farther into the deep. Their families worked at home, building boats, hooping casks, forging irons, shaping the varied industries which nourished the fleet with all the resources of an advancing civilisation. Wealth enlarged the scope of the adventurers creating it. Heredity trained the muscles and bent the intellects of generation after generation to a better contest with this monster game, worthy of a giant's chase.

Develop-
ment of the
art.

This was the life within the circle of the whaling industry. And wherever the slow life of petty inland communities could not contain the swelling energies of a natural rover, a restless hero youth constrained by peaceful ways, he broke out from his narrow conditions and strayed to these ports, bustling with the energies of another world. The blunt bows and sturdy masts of brig or ship, triumphant in a thousand storms,

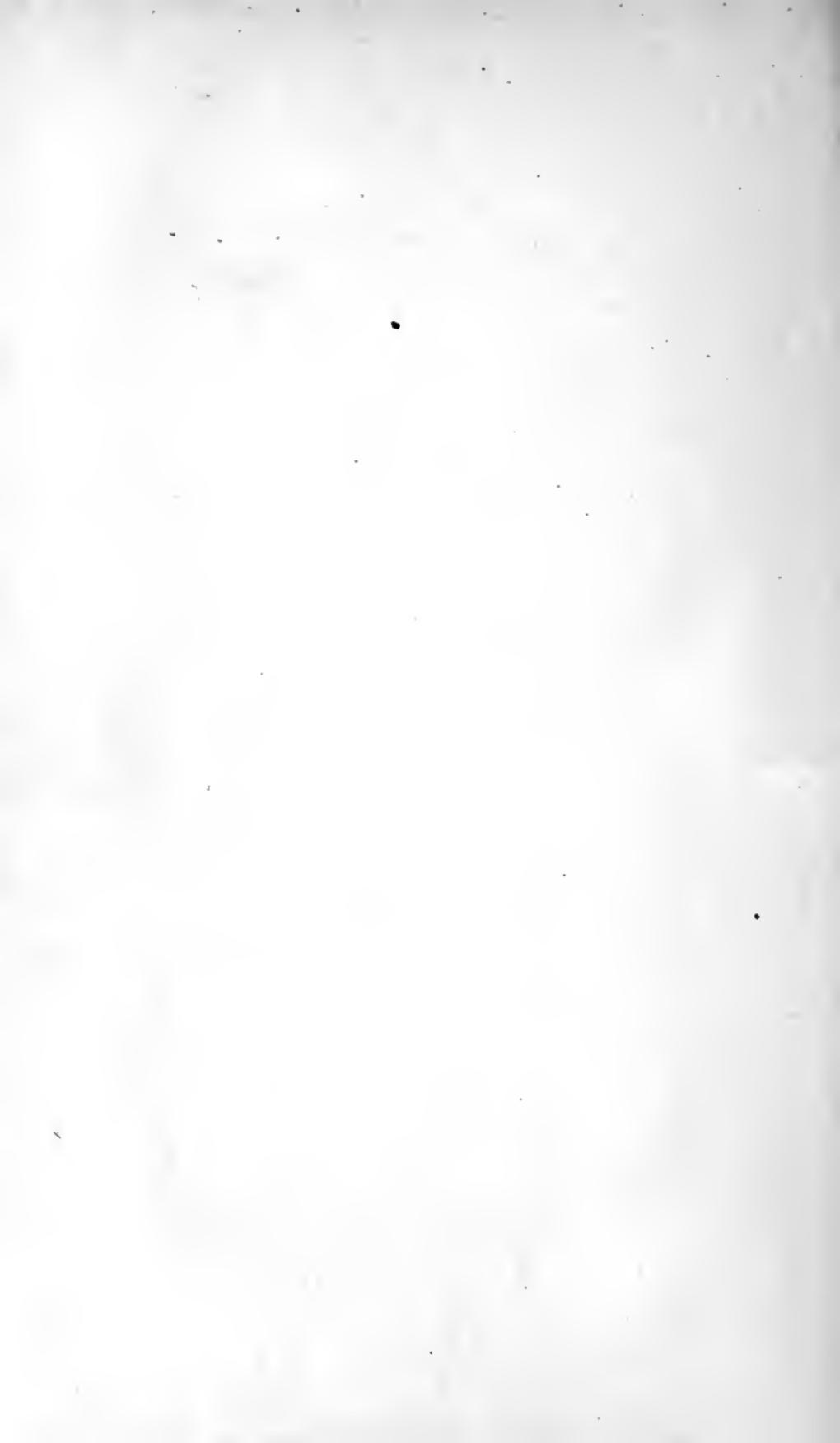
It selects the
best men.

welcomed him to a new home in a forecastle dingy and greasy in fact, but aglow with romance, and shining in all the possibilities of a prize voyage. For the "lay" system, the sharing of profits among officers, sailors, and owners, tempted the enterprise and inflamed the greed of every possible adventurer. His subsistence was assured, and any losses were borne by rich owners; a lucky chase would bring large returns for his labor. Each share was graduated to the ability of the receiver. In one instance a captain received $\frac{1}{8}$, an "end man" $\frac{1}{75}$, and a boy $\frac{1}{120}$ part of the proceeds of the voyage.

These three and even five year voyages were great training schools for strength, endurance, self-reliance, A great
training
school. for those qualities in men that confront danger and overcome difficulty. In their marine service these men underwent discipline and acquired subordination; often they worked out this experience in a tamer but thoroughly useful life on shore. Nor were the domestic virtues of the New Englander subverted or essentially changed by the temptations of rough living and an enforced asceticism. A good proportion of these voyagers had homes to which they clung with a tenacity only inspired by the pangs of such banishments. Sails did the work of oars, and steam replaced sails in the later developments of this business. Applied science, grappling with natural forces in many ways, has lessened the relative social need for the products of the whale. But it is a very rich community and a fortunate age which can afford to dispense altogether with the results of the whale fishery, whether economic or administrative, whether social or individual. This great, clumsy creature, left over from prehistoric time to be subdued by man, in his day and generation furnishes matter for reflection to the social philosopher, while he gives fat — that excess of nature — for the wants of industry. Here was a link in the environment of man with nature, which was out of all pro-

portion to the general development of the animal world. In subduing this monster to his own wants, man achieved great collateral results. Skill, courage, fortitude, wealth, and social vantage followed in the wake of leviathan, and our fellows took them to themselves. Whale, Indian, strong-timbered craft and swift clipper boat, are gone or going. No one can contemplate these achievements and this decay without sadness.

Man prevailing over nature.







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